



PhD-FLSHASE-2014-03

The Faculty of Language and Literature, Humanities, Arts and Education

DISSERTATION

Presented on 24/02/2014 in Luxembourg
to obtain the degree of

DOCTEUR DE L'UNIVERSITÉ DU LUXEMBOURG EN SCIENCES POLITIQUES

by

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LUXEMBOURG AND EUROPE: THE EUROPEANIZATION OF NATIONAL OFFICIALS

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Acknowledgements

This thesis was financed under the FNR scholarship scheme. I would like to thank everyone who was involved in the project and supported it: the FNR for its financial backing; Prof. Robert Harmsen and CET members Philippe Poirier and René Leboutte for their supervision; my proofreader Peter Robbins, who helped polish the final parts of my thesis ready for submission to the examiners; and Doris Meyer, a close friend who supported me in every sense of the word during the last four years and who did not give up on me.

Moreover, I would especially like to thank the practitioners of European policy in the Luxembourgish civil service, i.e. all those national officials at EU and national level who were willing to be interviewed or handed a questionnaire as part of this project. Without their support, it would never have come to fruition.

Abstract

Luxembourg and Europe: The Europeanization of National Officials

Kathleen Hielscher

This study provides a systematic account of European adaptation (Europeanization) of the national core executive in Luxembourg. So far the existing literature on European adaptation processes regarding national officials and their administrative structures does not address the case of Luxembourg nor does it link the analysis of European adaptation of actors and institutions in one research design. The analytical framework used in order to unveil Europeanization processes in the case of Luxembourg encompasses a mixed-method approach using quantitative but mostly qualitative techniques. The discovery of the way Luxembourg manages the coordination of its EU policy and the extent to which the core executive has been affected by the European socialization process provides evidence of successful European adaptation of the Luxembourgish core executive to the EU. Displaying a coordination system of EU policy that is structured by informal procedures, the flexibility and pro-integrationist outlook of national civil servants is mainly responsible for Luxembourg's efficient management of EU affairs. Despite being one of the smallest member states in the EU, Luxembourg has created a coordination system for EU policy that ensures successful management of its work in the European arena. While uncovering institutional and individual adaptation processes in Luxembourg, this thesis is the first systematic account that integrates socialization and coordination issues together into the Europeanization research agenda.

Keywords: Luxembourg, Europeanization, national coordination of EU policy, European socialization, institutions, national officials, pro-European attitude, informality

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List of Abbreviations

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| CICPE | Comité Interministériel de Coordination de la Politique Européenne |
| COREPER | Committee of Permanent Representatives |
| CWG | Council Working Group |
| CWP | Council Working Party |
| DG | Directorate General |
| EC | European Community |
| EEAS | European External Action Service |
| EIPA | European Institute of Public Administration |
| ERA | Academy of European Law |
| EU | European Union |
| IGC | Intergovernmental Conference |
| INAP | Institut National d'Administration Publique |
| MFA | Ministry for Foreign Affairs |
| MMR | Mixed-/Multi Method Research |
| QMV | Quality Majority Voting |
| SNE | Seconded National Official |

1. Introduction

Luxembourg is a microcosm of the European Union's multiculturalism and reflects its complexity. The "homo luxemburgo"¹ speaks at least four European languages fluently, has an international educational background (for a long time, there was no possibility to complete university studies in Luxembourg), and is thus by nature interculturally aware from both a multi-cultural and multi-lingual perspective. As one of the smallest member states in the European Union, Luxembourg lies in the heart of Europe and historically has had rather ambiguous relationships with its neighbors. European Union membership always presented significant advantages to Luxembourg and thus motivated the country to support the European project right from the start. Today, benefitting particularly from its highly developed financial center, Luxembourg has become the richest country in the European Union in terms of per capita income:

"Luxembourg zählt zu den Motoren der wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung Europas. (...) Mit dem internationalen Geist seiner Wirtschaft, mit der Mehrsprachigkeit seiner Einwohner und seinem bunten Bevölkerungsgemisch ist das Grossherzogtum geradezu die Verkörperung der Globalisierung."²

Low income and corporation tax attracts investors and job seekers to Luxembourg. Almost half of the employees in the whole country are foreign. Most of them are cross-border commuters from its neighbors France, Germany and Belgium. But Luxembourg itself also has a vested interest in a foreign workforce. There is a general shortage of labor in Luxembourg, especially technical specialists, which explains the high percentage of foreign employees in this EU member state. This is one of the reasons why the question of opening up the Luxembourgish civil service to EU foreigners has been put on the agenda. Although national civil servants are broadly pro-integrationist and multi-culturally pro-European, they would be fairly reluctant to open up the civil service to other EU citizens. But this is only one side of the coin. The other side relates to the country's strong European bias. Luxembourg is the seat of several EU institutions, which attracts European national officials and inevitably boosts the multi-cultural character of the country. Luxembourgish politicians such as Pierre Werner and Jean-Claude Juncker have also played prominent roles at the EU level.

¹ Laschet, Armin. *Luxemburg in Europa: Karlspreis 2006 an Jean-Claude Juncker*. Monschau: Weiss-Verlag, 2006, p. 83.

² Ibid, p. 63.

1.1 Luxembourg and Europe

There are certainly many reasons behind Luxembourg's membership of the European Union and it brings more advantages than disadvantages. Not only the size of the country but also its geographical situation make Luxembourg's membership of the EU vital because, without its involvement in European cooperation, Luxembourg would not be able to assert itself. As one of its founding member states, Luxembourg enjoys a long-standing relationship with the European Union. Although it belongs to the group of smaller member states within an EU that now numbers 28, it has always had a special position within the EU's political sphere. Luxembourg is known to be a very pro-European member state that has always played the role of intermediary in the EU arena, especially between bigger and more influential member states such as France and Germany. The traditional Benelux alliance still seems to be of the utmost importance for Luxembourg. However, Luxembourg also pursues wider contacts and coalitions beyond these traditional relationships. Whether and when this occurs depends largely on the issue at hand.

From its experiences during the two world wars, Luxembourg knew that a multi-cultural alliance would be essential to stop it being a "match ball" for the grander nation states surrounding it. This is one of the main reasons why Luxembourg has always supported and favored further European integration because it clearly brought more advantages than disadvantages for this small EU member. In the course of its membership of the EU, it has achieved a great many successes in promoting the European integration process. It was only during the last decade that the Luxembourgish people started to get unsettled by the idea of further integration. While still approving the integration process, responses to individual questions, such as the EU constitutional treaty or the approval for the opening-up of the civil service to EU foreigners, revealed a certain degree of reservation:

"Es gibt aber auch Kräfte, die betont auf die nationalistische Karte setzen, wie etwa (...) die Beamtengewerkschaft CGFP, die sich vehement der Öffnung des öffentlichen Dienstes für EU-Bürger widersetzt. Wegen dieses Widerstandes tut sich Luxemburg schwer mit der Anpassung seiner Gesetzgebung und der administrativen Praxis an die europäischen Freizügigkeitsbestimmungen, nicht nur beim Zugang zur Beamtenlaufbahn, sondern auch bei der Niederlassungsfreiheit für Rechtsanwälte und andere liberale Berufe. Es wurde wiederholt vom Europäischen Gerichtshof wegen Verstoß gegen die einschlägigen Bestimmungen verurteilt."³

³ Lorig, Wolfgang H. *Das politische System Luxemburgs eine Einführung*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2008, p. 330.

However, these nationalist tendencies do not outweigh Luxembourg's willingness and support of ongoing European integration. Key issues in its foreign policy are strongly Europe-oriented. The European Single Market is indispensable for Luxembourg. The country's EU policy is an integral part of national policies and is striving to act in an "esprit communautaire" while preserving national traditions. Luxembourg certainly focuses on the defense of national interests but this is followed close behind by the defense of European interests. Both interests form part of Luxembourg's EU policy and influence their negotiation strategies in the EU arena.

1.1.1 Central issues and hypothesis

While Luxembourg as a member state of the European Union is embedded institutionally, politically and individually at EU level, the analysis of how the European integration process has affected Luxembourg might at first glance raise two central research questions. The first relates to an analysis of the domestic coordination system of EU policy. While requiring background information such as national administrative structures in which the coordination system is embedded, there is a need to identify the effectiveness of the respective coordination system and the Europeanization of the national administration. My first questions thus focus on how the national administration system in Luxembourg has coped with European pressures. Second, and neglected somewhat in the analysis of the Europeanization process in EU member states, a further focus in my thesis is dedicated to the investigation of European socialization processes among national officials in Luxembourg. Assuming that not only institutions can be affected by the European integration process, the chapter deals with how national officials from Luxembourg have coped with European pressures while being involved in EU affairs at both European and national levels.

These two central questions are explored in two steps by investigating systematically the Luxembourgish coordination system of EU policy, i.e. institutional structure in Luxembourg's public administration, which represents the framework in which the coordination process takes place. In the second step, I use a quantitative-qualitative approach to verify whether national civil servants in Luxembourg have been affected by the European socialization process. Hence the thesis aims to explore national learning and adaptation processes in

Luxembourg regarding its involvement in EU affairs at two levels – institutional and individual.

In a broader sense, my thesis sets out to address the relationship between Luxembourg and Europe. In a narrower sense, it focuses on the impact that the EU and EU integration have had on Luxembourg and its political institutions by integrating the phenomenon of Europeanization into the evaluation of my empirical results. Both empirical parts can be considered interdependent as regards answering further central questions, which are as follows: To what extent has Luxembourg been influenced by the EU due to its membership? How has Luxembourg adapted and learnt at both an institutional and an individual level? Are these processes related to European integration or Europeanization? The thesis can be regarded as lying in-between these two research areas because both national coordination processes of EU policy and European socialization processes can be seen as results of the ongoing European integration process. In this sense, they represent sub-processes of the European integration process. At the same time, both processes are also related to Europeanization although European socialization is largely considered to be an outcome of the European integration process.

Moreover, the thesis proposes that national officials can be “Europeanized” in the same way as policy areas or interests groups. Focusing on institutional adaptation and individual socialization processes, this thesis argues that national coordination and European socialization processes represent crucial elements in the Europeanization process, through which national officials run while being involved in EU affairs. National officials are not only embedded institutionally but also individually at EU level. The main assumption of this thesis follows the logic that national officials undergo a learning and adaptation process (Europeanization process) while exposed to the EU level and being involved in EU affairs just as domestic institutions do. While the European socialization research only focuses at the individual level, e.g. how does the attitude/behavior of national officials change?, the national coordination research only focuses at the institutional level by questioning how domestic administrations deal with European pressures and adapt. The study of a country’s national coordination mechanism regarding EU policy provides contextual information about the structural conditions of a state apparatus, in which EU policy takes place. This contextual information is required in order to identify the European socialization process because it takes place within the institutional setting. This thesis thus tries to connect both dimensions

(institutional and individual) by arguing that they represent both the crucial elements in the Europeanization of national officials.

1.1.2 The added value of my contribution

This thesis represents in several respects added value for European integration research. First, analyses exploring the case of Luxembourg regarding the national coordination of EU policy do not exist in a form of a systematic account. Second, the European integration research community has never yet considered studies that investigate the European socialization process among national civil servants in Luxembourg. The literature on domestic coordination of EU policy includes only a few contributions that mentioned features relating to the domestic coordination process of EU policy in Luxembourg in edited multinational survey volumes.⁴ The most recent contribution has been in the framework of a Benelux project on European integration and consensus politics⁵ drawing on the empirical evidence of the national coordination of EU policy in Luxembourg conducted in the framework of this thesis. The bulk of analyses that systematically explored additional features of the Luxembourgish case have mainly been undertaken in or through the research units of the University of Luxembourg. The existing body of literature linked directly to my study encompasses studies analyzing Europeanization issues in different respects. Dumont, Poirier and Spreitzer, for example, provided different analyses regarding the Europeanization of domestic legislation and the chamber of deputies. These analyses mainly concern the downstream process, i.e. the impact EU has on Luxembourg through the transposition of EU legislation or political bodies

⁴ Cf. Dumont, Patrick, and Astrid Spreitzer. "The Europeanization of Domestic Legislation in Luxembourg." In: *The Europeanization of Domestic Legislatures*, edited by Sylvain Brouard, Olivier Costa, and Thomas König, Studies in Public Choice. Springer New York, 2012, 131–149; Dumont, Patrick. "The Europeanization of Luxembourg's Chamber of Deputies." Accessed December 5, 2013.

http://www.academia.edu/2869820/THE_EUROPEANIZATION_OF_LUXEMBOURGS_CHAMBER_OF_DEPUTIES; Bursens, Peter, Kathleen Hielscher and Mendeltje van Keulen. „Day-to-day EU Coordination in the Benelux: From Domestic Consensus Politics to Consensual EU Coordination”, in: Hans Vollaard, Jan Beyers, Patrick Dumont (eds.): *European integration and consensus politics in the Low Countries*, Routledge, forthcoming; Bichler, Marc: "The Case of Luxembourg", in: Pappas, Spyros A. (eds.) *National Administrative Procedures for the Preparation and Implementation of Community Decisions*. Maastricht: European Institute of Public Administration, 1995; Merten-Beissel, Simone. "L'inflation législative et réglementaire au Grand-Duché de Luxembourg." *Cahier Economiques. Banque Internationale* no. 1 (1987): 4–26; Hoscheit, Jean-Marc, Malou Weirich and Paul Yntema: „Luxembourg“, in: Siedentopf, Heinrich and Jacques Ziller. *Making European Policies Work: The Implementation of Community Legislation in the Member States*. London; Newbury Park: Sage Publications, 1988: 521–569.

⁵ The Benelux project has been effected by researchers of the University of Luxembourg, Antwerp and the Netherlands.

such as the chamber of deputies. As the implementation of EU directives represents the last stage in the domestic coordination process of EU policy, both studies reveal information about earlier stages of the coordination process. Further accounts of Luxembourg's management of EU policy can be found in studies analyzing the extent to which Luxembourg managed its adaptation to European pressures and demands. Beissel-Merten examines how Luxembourg adapted to the European Union and unveiled the change and difficulties for the Luxembourgish system. Marc Bichler also has provided useful information on the way Luxembourg coordinates its EU policy by investigating national administrative procedures concerning the preparation, negotiation and implementation of community decisions. Focusing on the polity dimension, Danielle Bossaert analyses how the Luxembourgish national system has met the demands of the European Union and whether there is evidence that it is becoming part of a new and different polity based on Wessels's fusion theory, which posits that national administrative systems across different member states will fuse as a response to European pressures. A first introduction to Luxembourg's political system was provided by Lorig and Hirsch, who examine the different levels of the political system including the European dimension of policy. More national-focused studies regarding the features of legislative elections in Luxembourg or the nature of coalition-formation have been provided by Dumont, Kies, Spreitzer, Bozinins and Poirier. This body of literature used quantitative methods to study the elections in 2009. More descriptive work on the electoral system in terms of accountability mechanisms or cabinet internal organization was furnished by Dumont and de Winter. A purely historical approach to Luxembourg is offered by Danielle Bossaert, who investigates the self-image of the small state and details its historical evolution from 1815 to the present.⁶

With regard to European socialization processes, the relatively limited body of literature contains no information related to Luxembourg. My thesis is therefore the first analysis in this regard. In addition, the existing studies mainly used quantitative methods in order to investigate European socialization and are thus more outcome-oriented. My approach to an analysis of European socialization embraces the idea that the process as such should be more focused by e.g. looking at the initial phase of socialization, i.e. the training activities of

⁶ Cf. Dumont, Patrick, und Lieven De Winter. *Luxembourg: A case of more 'direct' delegation and accountability*. Oxford University Press, 2003; Dumont, Patrick, und Raphaël Kies. „Smartvote. lu: usage and impact of the first VAA in Luxembourg“. *International Journal of Electronic Governance* 5, Nr. 3 (2012): 388–410; Bossaert, Danielle. *Das Großherzogtum Luxemburg: Das Selbstverständnis eines Kleinstaates*. Universitätsverlag Dr. N. Brockmeyer, 1992; Bossaert, Danielle. „Luxembourg: Flexible and Pragmatic Adaptation“. *Fifteen into one* (2003).

national civil servants. This approach breaks new ground within the European socialization research as well.

The choice of a single country case study instead of a comparative approach is due to the desire to make a contribution to the existing literature on both topics and the lack of information about the Luxembourgish case. None of the selected research areas and literature strands has ever taken the Luxembourgish case into account. A comparative approach, which for example would have compared Luxembourg and one or two other European countries would have gone beyond the scope of this doctoral project. In a first step it would have been necessary to establish information about Luxembourg in both respects - coordination and socialization issues - in order to compare them subsequently with another European member state. As the main argument of this thesis seeks to connect two elements of the Europeanization process and, simultaneously, point to a research area that has been uncovered up to now, a comparative approach would not have been unrealizable given the limited time frame of this project. In addition, Luxembourg is an interesting case to investigate because of its geographical position, language situation and the fact that it is a seat of EU governance. Examining Luxembourgish Europeanization automatically implies uncovering the peculiar situation of the country. Although the country seems to have strong European tendencies, national traditions belong to the overall picture and emphasize a varying degree of Europeanization. In addition, Luxembourg's cross border situation is of relevance as 45% of the working population in Luxembourg is represented by German, Belgian or French employees. The Luxembourgish economy is dependent on this staff but at the same time foreign languages are spoken very frequently in the everyday life. This results in identity issues as the country's language is not spoken by approximately half of the country. Although Luxembourg seem to have a pro-European outlook, there is also a national one that is struggling with identity issues. Luxembourg is a classic example of European diversity but the limits of Europeanization also become clear on closer examination.

Compared to other smaller member states of the European Union, Luxembourg is of limited comparability and remains a special case. In this thesis, it becomes clear that there are, for example, some parallels to the Irish case, but there are also several characteristics that distinguish both countries from one another.⁷ Yet, both countries display similar procedures, especially in terms of the national coordination mechanism regarding EU policy.

⁷ Cf. Panke, Diana. "Good Instructions in No Time? Domestic Coordination of EU Policies in 19 Small States."

What do we expect to learn from the Luxembourg perspective about the impact of the EU? The studies undertaken in the framework of this thesis show that the European Union has a certain impact on national structures and individuals. We also learn that Luxembourg is less EU-minded than the theoretical approaches would expect and that national traditions and tendencies co-exist with European tendencies. This becomes visible through the willingness in Luxembourg to maintain the national identity by integrating their language, culture etc. The European dimension might have an impact on the structures but it will not dominate this country's identity and self-image. Europeanization means that all countries have to adapt to a certain degree to the European level. However, adaptation varies from country to country with regard to the existing structures. The question whether smaller EU member states might adapt more easily can be answered positively as they have often more flexible structures than big systems.

1.2 Europeanization – central concepts and definitions

Since the launch of the European project in the 1950s, scholarly attention has been focused on the European integration process. While the process in the beginning of the European era⁸ implied the creation of supranational institutions, the focus shifted after these bodies had been set up from the institutions to their effects on member states and the interplay between the domestic and European level: "This process of domestic adaptation to the impact of the EU within member states has been labeled Europeanization."⁹ In general, the definition of the term "Europeanization" is contested in the literature. Different definitions have emerged over the years, each trying to pin down the process of Europeanization. First and foremost, it has to be said that the term "Europeanization" is used in different contexts and comprises different definitions. In the framework of EU policy analysis, for example, processes that describe an interplay of the two levels were termed "uploading" and "downloading", which signify an upload of policy preferences from the domestic to the European level and a download of EU

West European Politics 33, no. 4 (2010): 770–790./ *Small States in the European Union Coping with Structural Disadvantages*. Farnham, Surrey, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010; see also chapter 3.2.2 in this thesis.

⁸ The beginning of the European era represents the launch of the European project by creating step by step European institutions from the late 1950s on.

⁹ Ladrech, Robert. *Europeanization and National Politics*. Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010: p. 1.

policy preferences from the European to the national level.¹⁰ More classical definitions of the phenomenon Europeanization include, for example, Featherstone's four-dimensional analysis. He claims that Europeanization in a maximalist sense can be considered as a historic phenomenon and transnational diffusion. In a minimalist sense, Europeanization implies institutional adaptation and adaptation of policy processes. Asserting that Europeanization signifies a "process of structural change", Featherstone discusses the impact of the process on actors, institutions, ideas, interests, identities and policies.¹¹ Ladrech's definition of Europeanization tends to focus on the transformation processes at national level:

"Europeanization is an incremental process re-orienting the direction and shape of politics to the degree that EC political and economic dynamics become part of the organizational logic of national politics and policy-making."¹²

While this definition has often been cited in the literature, Featherstone weighs the advantages and disadvantages of this definition. He states that the definition implies the politics and policy-making dimensions but lacks a solid ground for theoretical implications such as the scope of the Europeanization process. Ladrech's enhanced version of what Europeanization encompasses is expressed in a model he presented in his latest book:

"EU effects, traced to their source – that is, directives and regulations, and decision-making processes, create varying pressures of intensity on particular domestic policy areas, actors, and/or institutions. Mediated by factors, for example multiple veto points, or facilitating institutions, some level of adaptational change occurs: absorption; accommodation; transformation."¹³

This understanding of the European process clearly shows a top-down orientation as Ladrech himself acknowledges. However, he suggests that process-tracing techniques would "take into account the background dynamics which may include domestic uploading in the policy development phase of EU legislation".¹⁴

In order to get a clearer idea of what Europeanization does, Olsen suggest five possible uses of the term. First, he suggests that Europeanization takes places as a change in external

¹⁰ Cf. Connolly, John. "Europeanization, Uploading and Downloading. The Case of Defra and Avian Influenza." *Public Policy and Administration* 23, no. 1 (2008): 7–25.

¹¹ Cf. Featherstone, Kevin, and Claudio M. Radaelli. *The Politics of Europeanization*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003, p. 3ff.

¹² Ladrech, Robert. "Europeanization of Domestic Politics and Institutions: The Case of France." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 32, no. 1 (1994): 69.

¹³ Ladrech, Robert. *Europeanization and National Politics*. Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010, p. 42.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 42.

boundaries, i.e. the enlargement of the European Union. Second, Europeanization refers to the creation and establishment of institutions at EU level, which finally provide a framework for EU policy and decision-making. Third, it is understood as the adaption of national systems of governance to the EU level through a shift of responsibilities and powers. Fourth, “Europeanization as exporting forms of political organization and governance (...) focuses on relations with non-European actors and institutions and how Europe finds a place in a larger world.”¹⁵ This usage of Europeanization refers to the high degree of influence exerted by the EU on non-EU countries. Fifth, Europeanization is understood in terms of the political project of European unification, as an exercise in “center-building”. Olsen himself admits that the five usages do not represent one single model of Europeanization, but rather overlapping and partially contradictory usages.

In my thesis, I seek a definition of Europeanization that includes the sociological dimension by referring to actors’ attitudes and behavior and their potential change due to exposure at EU level. Including the “cognitive component of politics” in the analysis of Europeanization, Radaelli proposes the following definition of Europeanization:

“Processes of a) construction, b) diffusion and c) institutionalization of formal and informal rules, procedures, policy paradigms, styles, ‘ways of doing things’ and shared beliefs and norms which are the first defined and consolidated in the making of EU decisions and then incorporated in the logic of domestic discourse, identities, political structures and public policies.”¹⁶

Involving the social or cognitive dimension of Europeanization, Radaelli defines the phenomenon as a process that affects the normative dimension in European policy and decision-making. However, Featherstone notes some shortcomings and ambiguities of Radaelli’s definition. He points to the absence of cross-national policy networks, as well as the ambiguity of the term “logic”. The definition of Europeanization by Cowles, Caporaso and Risse however, emphasizes the involvement of networks:

“We define Europeanization as the emergence and development at the European level of distinct structures of governance, that is, of political, legal, and social institutions associated

¹⁵ Olsen, Johan P. “The Many Faces of Europeanization.” *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 40, no. 5 (2002): p. 924.

¹⁶ Radaelli, Claudio M. “Whither Europeanization?: Concept Stretching and Substantive Change.” *European Integration Online Papers (EIoP)* no. 4 (2000). <http://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=3708450>, p. 4.

with political problem-solving that formalize interactions among the actors, and of policy networks specializing in the creation of authoritative European rules’.”¹⁷

While Ladrech and Olsen, for example, either emphasize the mutual impact of both levels or talk about the impact the EU has on national administrative structures, the latter definition seem to refer only to the EU level and has significant latitude. Radaelli notes that broad definitions of the term “Europeanization” do not specify what Europeanization actually influences, i.e. they do not explain what the term signifies concretely. Another notion inherent to this definition is again the social dimension of Europeanization. The three authors also suggest a social level that should be implied in the understanding of Europeanization.

Against the background of these rather traditional definitions of Europeanization in the literature, the relevant definition for my study needs a more differentiated approach. The 2000 issue of the *Yearbook of European Studies* addresses the phenomenon of Europeanization and offers a wide range of definitions used in scholarly literature because “no clear and widely accepted sense of the term has emerged across the range of social science”¹⁸. In order to embed research on Europeanization in the topic of European socialization, it is important to illustrate the existing usages and definitions of the term. The authors distinguish between eight different definitions and usages of the term:

- Europeanization as the emergence of new forms of European governance
- Europeanization as national adaptation
- Europeanization as policy isomorphism
- Europeanization as a problem and opportunity for domestic political management
- Europeanization as modernization
- Europeanization as joining Europe
- Europeanization as the reconstruction of identities

¹⁷ Cowles, Maria Green, James A Caporaso, and Risse-Kappen. *Transforming Europe: Europeanization and Domestic Change*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2001, p. 3.

¹⁸ Harmsen, Robert, and Thomas M. Wilson. *Europeanization: Institution, Identities and Citizenship*. Amsterdam; Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 2000, p. 13.

- Europeanization as transnationalism and cultural integration¹⁹

As regards the topic of European socialization processes at national and European level, four out of eight definitions would appear relevant. Europeanization as the emergence of new forms of European governance is linked to European socialization insofar as both refer to the overall process of European integration. One could argue that both the national coordination of EU policy and European socialization are sub-processes of the European integration process. Moreover, this usage of the term offers the possibility to explain socialization outcomes at European level from the perspective of Europeanization by arguing that people who become “Europeanized” through their interactions in the European arena become socialized in a European way at the same time. In this sense the term “Europeanization” is being used as a synonym for “European socialization” although Europeanization refers to a more complex process than the socialization process. Europeanization as national adaptation emphasizes the institutional factors of both the Europeanization process and the European socialization process. In both processes, institutional factors seem to be crucial in order to gain more insight into the process per se. In my research, I applied Europeanization differently to how it is proposed in the literature. Obviously, the focus in my definition of Europeanization encompasses national processes of adaptation and learning and both institutional and individual level. Focusing on the social dimension of Europeanization, definitions 1, 2, 7 and 8 are considered to be an adequate definition of Europeanization in my study.

1.3 Structure of the thesis

The thesis is divided into four chapters. This first introductory chapter has presented the central questions of the thesis, and discussed key concepts and definitions. In addition, it has provided an initial indication of the added value of my analyses for research about European integration and Europeanization processes in EU member states.

The second chapter reviews the relevant literature regarding the national coordination process of EU policy in general and in Luxembourg as well as the European socialization process in EU member states. The first section of the literature review surveys different perspectives on

¹⁹ Ibid, p. 13ff.

formal coordination, including the analysis of the effectiveness of coordination in smaller EU member states, as well as studies analyzing the Europeanization of national administrative systems in different EU member states. The second section encompasses the presentation of the theoretical framework of the European socialization research outlining the main trends in socialization theory since the foundation of the European Union. As previous research into the European socialization of national civil servants has been predominantly quantitative, testing whether or not national civil servants have adopted supranational role conceptions or supranational roles, the section initially focuses on studies which have utilized such approaches. The section on European socialization then proceeds to a review of the literature on “Eurocrats”, analyzing European socialization from the angle of national officials and their strategic behavior while being involved in EU related issues. The chapter closes with a summary stressing potential gaps in the literature regarding each of the two topics.

Chapter three presents the empirical findings of the thesis and thus represents the main focus of my thesis. The chapter is thematically divided into three sections, and starts with the presentation of the methods used to analyze both topics: the national coordination of EU policy and the European socialization of national officials. The second and third sections summarize the empirical findings of both studies. The empirical chapter is organized following the same logic as the literature review chapter: the results for the national coordination of EU policy are first presented and discussed, followed by the results for European socialization. The findings for the domestic coordination of EU policy begin with a characteristic description of the Luxembourgish coordination system followed by an exploration of the effectiveness of the coordination system. This is determined on the basis of national officials’ self-perception as well as how Luxembourg has coped with European pressures by ascertaining the Europeanization tendencies in the public administration of Luxembourg. The second thematic section dealing with the empirical findings of the European socialization on national civil servants in Luxembourg is subdivided into two sections as the topic was analyzed with a mixed-method approach, i.e. using first quantitative and then qualitative instruments. The quantitative data section summarizes the main results of the questionnaires and concludes with a discussion of the data. The qualitative section outlines the results of the qualitative interviews regarding the European socialization process and concludes with a summary. The interview result section is divided into three subsections, covering the organizational aspects of European socialization, the beginning of the socialization process and how national civil servants in Luxembourg perceive Europe by

testing their normative beliefs, attitudes and identities regarding the European environment. The section dealing with the empirical findings of the socialization data concludes with a discussion of both the quantitative and qualitative findings.

Chapter 4 contains the overall conclusion of the thesis and the outlook for further research. The conclusion encompasses a presentation of the main empirical findings of all studies followed by a section that identifies the interconnection between the national coordination of EU policy and the European socialization process in Luxembourg. The outlook section addresses the difficulties and limitations inherent in the thesis, and points to future research perspectives.

2. Literature Review

Examining European integration and its underlying processes leads to the discovery of several topics. The way a member state coordinates its EU policy can be attributed to the category of European integration in the same way as European socialization to which national officials of each member state are exposed. The literature focusing on the national coordination processes of EU policy in the member states seeks to reveal the impact of European integration on domestic institutions. In doing so, it forms a part of a wider literature concerned with the phenomenon of ‘Europeanization’. The European socialization literature aims to explain the impact of European integration, European cooperation and institutional structures on individuals, i.e. their loyalties, identities and role orientations. While the national coordination literature limits its focus to (national) institutions, the European socialization literature concentrates on individuals working in these institutions.

The following chapters provide an overview of the existing studies and theoretical approaches as well as models that deal with national coordination of EU policy in the member states and European socialization processes. These literature strands are also enriched by the Europeanization literature.

2.1 National coordination of EU policy

Questions about the national coordination of EU policy in each member state of the European Union became relevant particularly in relation to research investigating the impact of progressive European integration on national institutions. Each member state of the EU that enters the European arena, and especially its administration, will be confronted with the need for adequate coordination procedures. Some of them might even try to develop efficient coordination strategies in order to take the opportunity to exert influence during the negotiations in the Council of Ministers.²⁰

The literature dealing with the national coordination of EU policy generally covers two different aspects: it focuses on formal coordination processes, e.g. how exactly a member state coordinates its EU policy at both European and national levels, but, in a wider sense, the analysis of national coordination processes also refers to adaptation processes. The question of the extent to which domestic institutions and administrations adapt to European procedures is at the heart of the Europeanization literature. It investigates all aspects of the adaptation process triggered by European integration. This concerns mainly the member states and their national institutions but also the effects of national processes at the European level. Both aspects in the literature – organizational processes (formal coordination) and adaptation processes (Europeanization) – are always analyzed at both national and European levels. Moreover, an empirical study has recently been conducted by Panke to analyze the dimensions of the domestic coordination procedures that increase the quality and punctuality of instructions delivered to the Permanent Representations in nineteen small member states of the EU.²¹ This study can thus be regarded as an additional aspect analyzing the domestic coordination of EU policy. The following chapter reviews the literature concerning the national coordination of EU policy in terms of its relevance to my empirical study, which mainly focuses on formal coordination processes of EU policy in Luxembourg while addressing the effectiveness of national coordination and Europeanization aspects in more general terms.

²⁰ Cf. Kassim, Hussein, Guy Peters, and Vincent Wright. *The National Co-Ordination of EU Policy: The Domestic Level*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

²¹ Cf. D. Panke: „Good instructions in no time? Domestic coordination of EU policies in 19 small states“, *West European Politics* 33, Nr. 4 (2010): 770–790.

2.1.1 Formal coordination procedures in EU member states

Concern over the national coordination of EU policy has become increasingly important as more countries have joined the European Union. Coordination does not only mean to organize oneself; rather, it has broader implications and consequences for the political interest of each country, such as the exerting of influence by a member state through well-coordinated EU policy at both levels. As the national coordination of EU policy takes place not only in national administrations, it is necessary to look at both levels, the national and the European level. Two broad cross-national comparative studies have been conducted in order to shed more light on how the selected member states seek to guarantee successful and efficient domestic coordination of their EU policies.²² These studies not only examined how the domestic coordination system of EU policy in each member state has been set up, they also looked at convergences and divergences resulting from the coordination structure by comparing all selected member states with one another.²³ However, examining both the European and the national level requires a different approach at each level. While the focus is more so on the politico-administrative culture and their institutions at the national level, a stronger focus on the way the respective Permanent Representation is organized is required at the European level.

At the national level, the central concern is the question of the coordination machinery that has been developed in the national administrations of the selected member states. Questions such as how coordination is achieved in each member state and which ministry will take the leading role in the coordination procedure, particularly with a view to possible rivalries between the ministries, are key. Assuming that membership of the European Union has triggered “new pressures” and an extended “domain of government actions and responsibility”, the need for coordination represents the same challenge for all member states, but different reactions by each member state towards European pressures have to be expected.²⁴ Furthermore, the coordination of European policy presents governments with several challenges, such as the constitutional setting of EU institutions and its institutional fragmentation as well as the permanence of the involvement of member states. Moreover, the

²² Cf. Kassim et al., Hussein. *The National Co-Ordination of EU Policy: The European Level*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.

²³ Cf. Ibid.

²⁴ Kassim, Hussein, Guy Peters, and Vincent Wright. *The National Co-Ordination of EU Policy: The Domestic Level*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000: p. 1.

need for action at two levels requires efficient coordination as “[G]overnments must satisfy the demands of domestic constituencies, while at the same time adopting positions that are negotiable in Brussels.”²⁵ A further challenge is sectorization, because each policy type obeys a different logic and entails a certain risk of disharmony, so it requires a special kind of expertise. In order to complete the picture, further features are important:

“[...] vertical linkages between decision-making arenas at the European level are strong, whilst horizontal connections are weak. Each area is governed by its own rules and procedures, and involves a different set of actors. The relative power of EU institutions varies from sector to sector, and policy processes, both formal and informal, tend also to be sectorally specific. Within each sector, regular interaction between the same set of actors can lead to a sense of shared identity, a distinctive culture, and a degree of introspection.”²⁶

Summarizing all these examples, one can see that the EU has numerous distinctive characteristics, which render the national coordination of EU policy difficult for national coordinators. According to Kassim et al., this situation could be expressed in the following way:

“EU policy making confronts governments with a challenge that is unique in terms of its scope and complexity.”²⁷

As all governments that are members of the European Union are exposed to the same demands in terms of EU policy- and decision-making, the literature and the volume by Kassim et al. assume that convergence of institutional procedures will, to a certain degree at least, emerge from regular participation in the European institutions. The opposite point of view claims that, even though there is some evidence of convergence, divergence, or more so distinctiveness, will continue to dominate the evolution of the institutional setting. The authors of this volume have outlined five hypotheses in order to verify the convergence hypothesis in the case studies. First of all, it is assumed that the European institutional setting, processes and procedures have an impact on the way each member state achieves its goals at the European level as governments need to adapt to a certain degree in order to make sure that

²⁵ Ibid, p. 6.

²⁶ Ibid, p. 7.

²⁷ Ibid, p. 10.

information is easily transferred from the European level to the national level.²⁸ One finding of the case studies was that:

“[...] national responses to the demands of EU membership have led to a redefinition of the functions traditionally performed by some actors and a recasting or recalibration of interinstitutional relationships.”²⁹

In this sense, the hypothesis can be regarded as having been confirmed by the case studies. In addition to this finding, the authors found that member states are not only confronted with a need for national coordination of EU policy as a result of EU membership, but also that the assumed challenges are intrinsic and that fulfilling the requirements of the EU policy-making processes appears very difficult for all member states because of their complexity. Secondly, it is assumed that mimicry and learning are a further pressure promoting institutional convergence. This hypothesis could be affirmed as well by these case studies. However, all three further hypotheses of dynamics that might lead to institutional convergence – a) coercion, b) socialization and c) optimization – could not be confirmed by the case studies, whereas the case studies revealed similarities and differences among member states and the organization of their European policies. Thus, a mixed picture of convergences and divergences emerges from the case studies at the domestic level, disproving the hypothesis that “[...] frequent contact between national officials, their counterparts in other member states, and officials in the European institutions, and the spread of common values, has brought about institutional change in national administrations.”³⁰ Similarly, the analysis of the selected countries has not led to a confirmation of the emergence of a common institutional model as it is assumed in the “fusion theory” propounded by Wessels and Rometsch.³¹ To summarize the authors’ results in other words:

“[...] the picture is more complex: [...] two imperatives are at work – pressure towards convergence and system-specific adaption – that neither necessarily predominates, and that the outcome in terms of the organization of coordination is partial similarity combined with significant diversity.”³²

²⁸ Cf. Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid, p. 236.

³⁰ Ibid, p. 242.

³¹ Cf. Rometsch, Dietrich, and Wolfgang Wessels. *The European Union and Member States: Towards Institutional Fusion?* Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 1996; Wessels, Wolfgang, Andreas Maurer and Jürgen Mittag. *Fifteen into One?: The European Union and Its Member States*. Manchester, England; New York: Manchester University Press, 2003.

³² Kassim, Hussein, Guy Peters, and Vincent Wright. *The National Co-Ordination of EU Policy: The Domestic Level*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000: p. 237.

Beyond the topic of the national coordination of EU policy, several broader aspects related to national coordination emerged when conducting the country study. The first and most obvious is the question of the effectiveness of national coordination systems, i.e. strategies that national governments use in order to ensure successful coordination. Having distinct capabilities, such as anticipation, shaping, translation, implementation or monitoring, seems to be important in this regard. Furthermore, whether a country has a centralized system or not could be crucial because it provides information about its government's strategy. Moreover, national coordination of EU policy can be regarded as a process which asserts that coordination is justified, strengthened or weakened by values like "system goals", "policy ambitions", "the pursuit of consensus consultation" or "the unity of purpose".³³ Furthermore, how the national coordination of EU policy is organized has consequences for national institutions and for the EU as a system. Most notably, it should be mentioned that the evolution of a coordination system at the national level has modified pre-existing institutional settings and has thus created a new balance.³⁴ Regarding theoretical concerns, a causal relationship has emerged between the ambitions, processes and institutional settings of member states and the behavior of national governments at European level. The case studies highlight different ambitions, processes and institutional settings in the member states, which can serve as an explanation for their different ways of behaving. Beyond that, national coordination is important for understanding the process of national preference formation with regard to EU policy:

"The policies that governments pursue at the European level are the outcome of often complex processes of intragovernmental bargaining, bureaucratic politics and coordination of variable quality."³⁵

At the European level, the analysis of the domestic coordination of EU policy focuses on the institutional arrangements of the European institutions and the challenges and difficulties member states face while working with and in these institutions. Each country that is a member of the European Union is challenged to represent its own interests in Brussels. They have several institutional arrangements at their disposal. The Permanent Representation may well be the most central one and the core of domestic coordination systems at the European

³³ Cf. Ibid, p. 256.

³⁴ Cf. Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid, p. 259.

level. Hence a detailed analysis of those organizational structures, their tasks and functions would appear essential. The comparative study contains an examination of eleven member states of the European Union, verifying several assumptions regarding the domestic coordination of EU policy within the European institutions. The first and most obvious is the assumption that European institutions exert pressures on national governments that render coordination of their EU policies imperative for them within the European institutions:

“In many policy sectors, the Union is an important, if not the most important, policy-maker or decision-making venue, and governments play for high stakes. Decisions taken in Brussels can have far-reaching consequences for the member states.”³⁶

Participation in deliberations of the Council of Ministers, the moderation of a Council's Presidency or participation in intergovernmental conferences are all occasions that require a minimum of diplomatic organization, “strategic action, and tactical thinking”³⁷. Looking at the findings of the case studies, it was observed that all member states showed a reaction towards the necessity to coordinate their national EU policy and they strive for intelligent strategy formation. However, variations could be detected concerning pre-existing attitudes towards EU integration, “features of [...] national political and administrative opportunity structures, policy style, and available resources.”³⁸ A further aim of the country study consists in comparing all selected member states on particular aspects that then paint a picture of the domestic coordination systems created by the selected countries. Examples would be general coordination objectives, the tasks and functions of the Permanent Representation as well as the effectiveness of domestic coordination of EU policy at the European level.³⁹ Here, convergences and divergences are deemed to emerge. Theoretically, the “convergence hypothesis” can be assigned to two different lines of the new institutionalism: “the rational choice school and the sociological school”⁴⁰, both suggesting that frequent interaction between institutions and actors will lead to institutional convergence, whereas the rational choice approach focuses on a “logic of optimisation”⁴¹. The divergence hypothesis originates from the same theoretical ground, i.e. the new institutionalism. According to this approach,

³⁶ Kassim et al., Hussein. *The National Co-Ordination of EU Policy: The European Level*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001: p. 9.

³⁷ Ibid, p. 10.

³⁸ Ibid, p. 298.

³⁹ Cf. Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid, p. 27.

⁴¹ Harmsen, Robert: „The Europeanization of National Administrations: A Comparative Study of France and the Netherlands“, *Governance* 12, no. 1 (January 1, 1999): p. 84.

pre-existing differences regarding the institutional settings of national administrations are entrenched to a very large extent, so that eventual institutional convergence is almost impossible. The findings of the case studies reveal a relatively mixed picture. On the one hand, similarities between domestic institutional settings of the member states have been discovered. On the other hand and to the same extent, the authors of the case studies found differences among member states, so that both the convergence and divergence hypothesis can be disproven. The case studies tend rather to reveal that aspects of both hypotheses compose the actual trend in the institutional development of national arrangements. Comparing the effectiveness of the selected member states, the authors presume that each member state would be efficient to a different degree.⁴² However, the case studies underlined the strengths and weaknesses of national institutional settings, while one factor emerged that serves to indicate whether member states are efficient to the same degree – the “efficiency of national coordination procedures”.⁴³ In order to summarize these results, we can discern that, at both national and European levels, a mixed picture of developing convergences and persisting divergences prevails.

A further type of country study that investigates the process of domestic coordination of EU policy is the case studies on the UK and Ireland.⁴⁴ The historical institutionalist approach tracks institutional development and transformation processes over a long period of time, as distinct from studies that take only a snapshot of the current situation instead of focusing on the historical evolution of domestic institutions.⁴⁵ Although both types of study identify domestic adaptation patterns according to path dependency⁴⁶, one could almost say that they shed light on opposing features of the national coordination system of EU policy, e.g. in that the British system displays centralized and the Irish system decentralized structures⁴⁷.

⁴² Cf. Ibid, p. 37.

⁴³ Ibid, p. 299.

⁴⁴ Cf. Bulmer, Simon, and Martin Burch. “Organizing for Europe: Whitehall, the British State and European Union.” *Public Administration* 76, no. 4 (1998): 601–628; Laffan, Brigid. “Managing Europe from Home in Dublin, Athens and Helsinki: A Comparative Analysis.” *West European Politics* 29, no. 4 (2006): 687–708.

⁴⁵ Pierson, Paul. “The Path to European Integration A Historical Institutional Analysis.” *Comparative Political Studies* 29, no. 2 (January 4, 1996): 123–163; Hall, Peter A., and Rosemary C. R. Taylor. “Political Science and the Three New Institutionalisms.” *Political Studies* 44, no. 5 (1996): 936–957.

⁴⁶ The concept of path dependency describes a dependency of current states (of institutions) due to decisions that have been made by e.g. national state agents in the past. The current state of the institutions thus represents an outcome of a historical evolution that the investigated institutions have undergone.

⁴⁷ Decentralized structures in the Irish coordination system are represented by their informal procedures, tradition of consensus, high departmental autonomy, ease of contact among national officials, limited human resources and flexibility.

In the case of the UK, Bulmer and Burch identified the institutional development and transformation process by dividing the adaptation process into two key stages: pre-accession and post-accession adaptation to the European Union. The pre-accession stage was shaped by two critical moments that occurred during membership negotiations and finally led the Wilson government to set up a European unit at the level of the Cabinet Office represented by a second permanent secretary. This unit dealt principally with EU coordination, focusing on negotiation issues. The British process of adaptation to the European Union was subsequently marked by a third critical moment, the UK's formal accession to the European Union in 1973. Official membership should have been a challenge to the British government machinery. However, it "was in effect no challenge at all as by then the institutional pathway was well defined."⁴⁸ Therefore, the Europeanization of the British central government can be characterized as a "process of slow and steady adaptation"⁴⁹, which entailed fundamental changes in the domestic institutional setting while preserving national traditions:

"What is remarkable about British central government's adaptation to the EU, we shall argue, is the extent to which, while change has been substantial, it has been more or less wholly in keeping with British traditions."⁵⁰

The operation of the public administration in the UK has been gradually modified by EU membership and has thus changed the institutional setting over a long period of time. This process of change was accompanied by "critical moments"⁵¹, which ultimately contributed to the overall outcome: the Europeanization of the British civil service.

Domestic adaptation to the EU in the case of Ireland reveals different patterns to the British case. One of those members whose financial situation before EU accession was fairly critical, Ireland was mainly preoccupied with gaining entrance into the European Union more so than reflecting about the consequences that EU membership would have for its central government. Unlike the UK, Ireland did not spend enough time preparing its domestic administrative system for European requirements prior to 1973. Although Irish management of EU policy is strongly informal in nature, the historical institutionalist perspective reveals a formalization of the Irish system in the late 1990s and especially after the rejection of the Nice Treaty in

⁴⁸ Bulmer, Simon, and Martin Burch. "Organizing for Europe: Whitehall, the British State and European Union." *Public Administration* 76, no. 4 (1998): p. 625.

⁴⁹ Ibid, p. 624.

⁵⁰ Ibid, p. 603.

⁵¹ Ibid, p. 625.

2001.⁵² This represents a critical juncture in the adaptation process to the EU. Despite its unfavorable starting conditions, Ireland succeeded in managing EU affairs while adapting to European demands:

“Ireland’s adaptive system that responded on an incremental basis to changes in Europe, was based on a cohesive civil service, collective responsibility and a policy system dominated by the executive. This allowed a small number of key officials and political office holders to manage Ireland’s relations with Europe.”⁵³

2.1.2 Coordination practices of small member states

Panke, in her more recent study dealing with the national coordination of EU policy, focuses on the coordination practices of small member states. Previous research, particularly the comparative study by Kassim et al., focused more so on the structure of formal coordination in the selected member states and less so on the correlation between coordination practices and the quality of preference formation as well as the time needed to develop it. In order to investigate this issue it was preferable to select small countries as they cannot lean on their voting power like larger states and thus have to put effort into strategies based on arguments as well as implementation from an early stage in the negotiation process in order to shape negotiation outcomes.⁵⁴ Therefore, the basic assumption is that small states need to develop qualitatively high positions in a very short time period. Especially in forums like the working groups or the COREPER of the Council of Ministers, it is indispensable for smaller states to know what their interests and preferences are, otherwise it would be very difficult for them to develop good instructions for their national civil servants involved in European negotiation processes and represent their national policy preferences in Brussels. Time is another factor that is crucial because it is not sufficient to develop good positions if they do not reach the respective Permanent Representation in time. Hence the object of study is the analysis of the consequences of the coordination practices of small member states regarding the timing and quality of their instructions. By examining more than seventy national officials of the

⁵² e.g. the development of new guidelines on parliamentary scrutiny

⁵³ Laffan, Brigid. “Managing Europe from Home in Dublin, Athens and Helsinki: A Comparative Analysis.” *West European Politics* 29, no. 4 (2006): p. 702.

⁵⁴ Cf. Diana Panke: „Good Instructions in No Time? Domestic Coordination of EU - Policies in 19 Small States“, *West European Politics* 33, no. 4 (2010): 771., Small states in the European Union, 2010

individual Permanent Representations and national ministries working in the economic, environmental and agricultural policy areas of nineteen small member states, Panke concentrates on the central question of to what extent domestic coordination practices affect the timing and quality of national positions established at the European level. A further interest, which leads on from the previous one, is whether some states can be in a more favorable situation than others and whether there is a positive or negative correlation of domestic coordination practices and the production of good policy positions. So, the question remains as to whether some states produce better positions due to domestic coordination procedures. In order to investigate these questions, Panke found that three pre-conditions are important for the establishment of favorable, timely positions: a) good cooperation between Permanent Representations and the lead ministries, b) autonomous lead ministries that prioritize EU work and c) good inter-ministerial conflict resolution systems.⁵⁵ By testing three sets of hypotheses, she ascertains that the first set of hypotheses, which assume good cooperation between European institutions and national administrations, a so-called “balanced coordination system”⁵⁶, would favor the development of swift and practical instructions that can be affirmed by the empirical results as, in all countries, a Brussels- or capital-centric bias regarding the coordination system, i.e. an unbalanced coordination system, produces:

“[...] instructions [...] of low quality since they lack either European or domestic insights and are thus often problem-oriented, either overly detailed or very vague and often not backed up by enough information.”⁵⁷

Similar results were found for the assumption that non-balanced systems lead to delays in the production of a position with the exception of Lithuania, which develops instructions faster although its coordination system is rather imbalanced. The study does not provide any explanation for this outlier, but it can be assumed that other conditions might be determinative, such as those mentioned by the author. The second group of hypotheses deals with the expectation that, the more a ministry is autonomous and gives priority to EU issues, the more the country will develop timely, favorable instructions. Moreover, the fewer veto players arise, the faster a country can develop its position. These hypotheses could only be confirmed for countries where the ministry is independent and veto players occur very often on the political scene. The third set of hypotheses presumes that efficient resolution systems

⁵⁵ Ibid, p. 770.

⁵⁶ Ibid, p. 786.

⁵⁷ Ibid, p. 781.

that intervene in conflicts between ministries including “silent agreement norms and mediating central institutions”⁵⁸ are conducive to the creation of good and swift instructions. These hypotheses could also be validated by the empirical results although two outliers were found. Belgium, which lacks an efficient conflict resolution system even though its outcomes are of high quality, represents the inverse of Slovakia, which has an efficient conflict resolution system but does not produce high-quality instructions. In terms of the time variable, countries with low-quality conflict resolutions systems should be delayed in the production of their instructions. This holds true for all selected countries with the exception of Malta. With regard to the two dependent variables, expenditure of time and quality of development of national positions, the results show a “significant country-level variation”.⁵⁹ In view of the time variable, Luxembourg, Sweden and Finland are situated at one end of the spectrum, which is characterized by the rapid and punctual establishment of policy positions. At the other end, Estonia, Bulgaria, Cyprus and Greece emerge as often being behind schedule, so that developed instructions by these countries become only available at later stages and thus have less opportunity to shape the negotiation process. Regarding the quality variable, Denmark, Luxembourg, Sweden, Ireland and Belgium at one extreme, which is characterized by a set of well-developed positions, represent states that are more solution- than problem-oriented and possess good technical expertise. At the other extreme, the findings show Cyprus, Estonia, Lithuania, Bulgaria and Greece to be countries which develop positions that are less solution-oriented and more focused on problems. As they lack technical expertise in order to defend the national position, they are not well prepared or focus too much on details and thus are not flexible in the negotiation process. In sum, by examining the two dependent variables on the three dimensions outlined through the three sets of hypotheses, Panke places an ideal point of national coordination practices in the middle of the three dimensions and therefore deems Luxembourg and Ireland to be the countries closest to the ideal points on all dimensions, whereas states like Greece and Cyprus tend to display low-quality coordination practices and delayed instructions.

⁵⁸ Ibid, p. 783.

⁵⁹ Ibid, p. 771.

2.1.3 National coordination of EU policy and Europeanization

An analysis of Europeanization mainly entails an analysis of the impact of European integration on EU member states. This can refer to the impact on the national institutional setting or to a certain policy area. Therefore, Europeanization research mainly questions whether or not member states, member states' institutions or the domestic policy areas adapt automatically to a certain degree to European guidelines within the process of European integration. One way to answer this question is to gain more knowledge about the way a member state coordinates its EU policy because, once it is clear how a member state is organized internally and which procedures it undertakes in order to participate in European politics, it also reveals matches and mismatches with the European institutional setting or problems and challenges for the respective country. Studies seeking to highlight the underlying dynamics of adaptation processes in the framework of European integration follow different approaches. While some authors focus on using country studies⁶⁰ in order to analyze the impact of EU integration on member states, some studies approach the analysis from a more theoretical perspective.⁶¹ As the European integration literature essentially assumes that institutional settings vary according to country, one might expect variations in policy styles as well.⁶² Consequently, the nature of the Community process requires extensive mechanisms for the coordination of national policy, both in the capitals and in Brussels. In order to demonstrate this through a concrete example, the impact of the EU membership on the British state machinery was examined in the 1970s. As the authors of this study assume that several

⁶⁰ Cf. Wallace, Helen, and William Wallace. "The Impact of Community Membership on the British Machinery of Government." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 11, no. 4 (1973): 243–262; Kassim et al., Hussein. *The National Co-Ordination of EU Policy: The European Level*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001; Kassim, Hussein, Guy Peters, and Vincent Wright. *The National Co-Ordination of EU Policy: The Domestic Level*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000; Hanf, Kenneth, and Ben Soetendorp. *Adapting to European Integration: Small States and the European Union*. London; New York: Longman, 1998; Harmsen, Robert. "The Europeanization of National Administrations: A Comparative Study of France and the Netherlands." *Governance* 12, no. 1 (1999): 81–113.

⁶¹ Cf. Toonen, Theo. "Europe of the Administrations: The Challenges of '92." *Public Administration Review* (1992): 108–115; Metcalfe, Les. "International Policy Co-Ordination and Public Management Reform." *International Review of Administrative Sciences* 60, no. 2 (1994): 271–290; Page, Edward C., and Linda Wouters. "The Europeanization of the National Bureaucracies?" *Bureaucracy in the Modern State: An Introduction to Comparative Public Administration* (1995); Rometsch, Dietrich, and Wolfgang Wessels. *The European Union and Member States: Towards Institutional Fusion?* Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 1996; Wessels, Wolfgang. "An Ever Closer Fusion?: A Dynamic Macropolitical View on Integration Processes." *Journal of Common Market Studies*. 352 (1997): 267–299; Wessels, Wolfgang, Andreas Maurer and Jürgen Mittag. *Fifteen into One?: The European Union and Its Member States*. Manchester, England; New York: Manchester University Press, 2003; Wessels, Wolfgang Theodor. "Comitology: Fusion in Action. Politico-Administrative Trends in the EU System." *Journal of European Public Policy* 5, no. 2 (1998): 209–234.

⁶² Wallace, Helen, and William Wallace. "The Impact of Community Membership on the British Machinery of Government." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 11, no. 4 (1973): p. 243.

problems occur “for each national administration in organizing its management of European questions” and that there is a correlation between the way each government response and the “relative success” to achieve its aims in the integration process, they first chose the examples of the French and German administrations’ responses to the EU in order to demonstrate this correlation and compare it then with the British system.⁶³ The overall result was that the consequences of the UK’s entry into the European Union have led to a “gradual adaptation” rather than to the fundamental transition of the UK.⁶⁴ Moreover, the rather traditional tendency of British attitudes towards the European Union and European integration seems to be mostly pragmatic:

“British preparations for membership appear to have relied on a traditional attitude of incremental pragmatism, anticipating that existing structures will be able fairly easily to incorporate new responsibilities and that personnel can rapidly acquire linguistic skills and a working knowledge of the Communities.”⁶⁵

The authors, however, think that this attitude towards the EU and its integration might lose sight of the magnitude of difference between the European and the British system. Therefore, the question remains how the UK will adapt to existing procedures and whether it will imitate a model from another country such as that of France.⁶⁶

Following this, a two country comparative case study was undertaken at the end of the 1990s. On the one hand, Harmsen acknowledges the general assumption that increasing contact between the European and the national level can be identified as an “Europeanization of national administrations”⁶⁷. On the other hand, he casts doubt on the hypothesis that this increasing contact leads automatically to a “convergence towards a common institutional model” and claims that “national administrations are not coming to resemble one another, nor are they coming to resemble a sort of synthetic EU prototype.”⁶⁸ In line with several other studies that confirm the improbability of the institutional convergence of national administrations towards EU institutions, Harmsen nevertheless assumes that not even a minimal convergence due to joint pressures would be likely to emerge.⁶⁹ Similarly, he doubts the validity of two further assumptions, the socialization and optimization assumption, both

⁶³ Ibid, p. 243f.

⁶⁴ Ibid, p. 261.

⁶⁵ Ibid, p. 216.

⁶⁶ Cf. Ibid.

⁶⁷ Harmsen, Robert. “The Europeanization of National Administrations: A Comparative Study of France and the Netherlands.” *Governance* 12, no. 1 (1999): p. 81.

⁶⁸ Ibid, p. 81f.

⁶⁹ cf. Ibid.

presuming that European integration entails the development of joint structures, processes or, concerning the optimization model, “a gradual convergence of national practices around the most effective solution to [...] common problems”.⁷⁰ On the basis of this discussion, he addresses the question as to why there is a disproportion of increasing contact between national and European institutions as well as a lack of adjustment. According to Harmsen, an explanation can be found in the neo-institutionalist theoretical framework by referring to what March & Olsen called the “logic of appropriateness”, which concerns the administrative culture of a national institution and their inherent values and practices that provide information about “appropriate or legitimate political forms”⁷¹. The resilience of these administrative peculiarities of each country’s administrative organization thus forms the basis for divergence and the reason why increasing contact with the European institutions does not lead to a structural and institutional adjustment of each national administrative system in line with the European institutional setting. The opposite might also hold true:

“While usually portrayed as a process of national adaptation to European norms (in both the legal and the more general sense of the term), the picture which presently emerges is rather more one of European norms being adapted to, or at least within, national contexts.”⁷²

Comparing two quite differing countries, France and the Netherlands, with respect to their methods of politico-administrative adaptation within the European integration process, Harmsen concludes that the aforementioned hypothesis can be confirmed by the two case studies:

“Both national administrations have displayed broadly preservative patterns of institutional adaption in the context of the integration process. The institutional mechanisms developed to deal with the new pressures created by integration are largely based on pre-existing national institutional models and, as such, differ substantially between the two countries.”⁷³

Therefore, the retention of national administrative patterns while being confronted with the requirements of the European integration process follows tends to follow a “logic of differentiation”⁷⁴ more so than any other logic. Consequently, it would be more useful to imply domestic contextual variables in further research into the dynamics of the European integration process.

⁷⁰ Ibid, p. 84.

⁷¹ Ibid, p. 85.

⁷² Ibid, p. 86.

⁷³ Ibid, p. 105.

⁷⁴ Ibid, p. 106.

As with most of the country studies conducted, the research project by Hanf and Soetendorp focuses on the impact of EU membership and integration on the domestic administrative and political system in the member states. Selecting eight smaller countries and two non-members, the authors analyzed to what extent the involvement of these member states in the EU process had changed the organizational logic of their national politics and policy-making.⁷⁵ Hanf and Soetendorp generally assume that it is more so the national system that tends to adapt to the European setting and its requirements. Thus the main focus of this study is an analysis of the national adjustment processes. The authors presume that adaptation occurs at different levels, which can be divided into the dimensions of governmental, political and strategic adaptation.⁷⁶ As concerns governmental adaptation, which refers to “organizational adjustments and the changes in institutional capacity to meet the new challenges”⁷⁷, the countries examined revealed neither any severe removals of administrative structures nor any “fundamental structural changes”.⁷⁸ Instead, the findings show a process of gradual and improvised adaptation to European demands at the organizational level:

“It appears that even the intensification of joint policy-making and the broadening of the range of national policies that fall under the EC/EU competence, following the signing of the Single European Act and the Treaty on European Union, have not triggered any kind of systematic, centrally directed adjustment to the demands of further Europeanization.”⁷⁹

Although the findings do not display any systematic adaptation, each member state has developed a coordination system of sorts in order to be able to represent its national interests in European negotiations. However, those systems are constrained by institutional or political limits at the national level. Political adaptation essentially relates to the attitude of the respective country towards European integration, i.e. whether they are pro- or anti-European, and therefore the way “the EC/EU dimension has been internalized in domestic policy-making”.⁸⁰ The results in the selected member states illustrate considerable diversity because, even if the political elite is willing to integrate its country into the European system, other factors such as public opinion can hinder smooth adaptation.⁸¹ The dimension of strategic adaptation aims to analyze the member states’ awareness concerning the need for strategic

⁷⁵ Cf. Hanf, Kenneth, and Ben Soetendorp. *Adapting to European Integration: Small States and the European Union*. London; New York: Longman, 1998.

⁷⁶ Cf. Ibid.

⁷⁷ Ibid, p. 8.

⁷⁸ Ibid, p. 187.

⁷⁹ Ibid, p. 190.

⁸⁰ Ibid, p. 10.

⁸¹ Cf. Ibid, p. 190.

coordination in European decision-making. In particular, “formal and informal patterns of coalition-formation”⁸² are the focus in this dimension. All selected countries recognize the need for adequate strategy formation in order to influence the decision-making process at the European level. The member states had thus evolved “some kind of coordination mechanisms”⁸³ as it represented in their view a strategic action to guarantee a common EU policy-making at EU level. This might be because small states display lower capacities and thus resources to establish efficient coordination compared to larger states. Furthermore, the need to form coalitions has become important for smaller member states, especially since the introduction of qualified majority voting procedures. In sum, the findings of the country study illustrated the need for smaller member states to develop appropriate strategies in order to participate effectively in the European arena. With regard to the three dimensions put forward by the authors, it became apparent that governmental and political adaptation held more significance than the strategic adaptation concerning the willingness for structural changes in the administrative apparatus.

A further interesting contribution that has been made is the question of whether the European integration process has a fundamental impact on national administrations in the sense that domestic administrative structures might become Europeanized, i.e. whether and to what degree national administrative systems can preserve the same patterns while being involved in EU political processes⁸⁴ Although the authors assume that there exists a “relationship of mutual dependency”⁸⁵ between administrations of the member states and the EU bureaucracy and that each country is deeply involved in the European policy cycle, creating a high impact potential of the EU on national administrations, they claim that ongoing Europeanization and thus the EU integration process will not have any weighty consequences and will not bring about the necessary reforms of national administrations. Rather, might the need for administrative reforms be attributed to other reasons than EU membership?⁸⁶ In order to further explore this question, the authors propose examining possible influencing factors, such as “direct and indirect influences”, which could provide more information “about the mechanisms by which EC influence may be exerted”.⁸⁷ In so doing, directives, regulations

⁸² Ibid, p. 11.

⁸³ Ibid, p. 192.

⁸⁴ Page, Edward C., and Linda Wouters. “The Europeanization of the National Bureaucracies?”, in: Pierre, Jon: *Bureaucracy in the Modern State : An Introduction to Comparative Public Administration* (Aldershot: Edward Elgar, 1995): 185-204.

⁸⁵ Ibid, p. 185.

⁸⁶ Cf. Ibid.

⁸⁷ Ibid, p. 187.

and decisions of the European Court of Justice could be considered as “direct influences”, but according to the authors:

“[S]uch direct influences have not so far been specifically directed at the core ministerial civil service. [...] there’s no evidence that the EC is likely to exert direct influence in order to produce major changes in ministerial civil services of Member States [...]”⁸⁸

Therefore, it may be more likely that indirect influences could be a possible explanation for administrative change in the member states. Hence, the authors distinguish between five methods. First, there is the possibility that adaptation to EU bureaucracy is effected through the direct request by national civil servants to align their pay and conditions of service. Second, the hypothesis that increasing interaction will lead to a higher likelihood that adaptation will occur is called “the aerodynamics of EC institutions”⁸⁹. A third possible influence relates to the socialization hypothesis, which, in this context, is described by the term “contagion” and is based on the principle that values are adopted when people interact with each other very frequently within the European institutions. The fourth possibility of influence may be a demonstration effect which purports an increase in importance of EU administrative practices that have been more specific to domestic administrations and thus take on greater significance if differences between the country and the EU bureaucracy can be detected. The fifth and final form is called the “redundancy effect”, which assumes that there will be no need for national bureaucracies to exist if the European bureaucracy takes on all functions. In other words, it would be a replacement of the national administration by the EU administration.⁹⁰ In concluding their discussion, the authors indicate two main reasons for disproving that EU membership has an impact on national administrative reforms. The first is the observation that, since its foundation, the European Community has had only a slight influence on national administrative systems and thus there has not been a specific “EC model” that has developed over time in order to establish sovereignty at the political level. Secondly, as the EU possesses a relatively young administrative organization, no individual organizational style or culture can yet be detected that could be imitated by the member states’ administrations or even be spread by their bureaucracies:

“In short, national administrations are becoming ‘Europeanized’ in the sense that the decisions of the EC, as well as the people who make them, are increasingly becoming part of national decision-making processes, but there is no strong reason to believe that this ‘Europeanization’

⁸⁸ Ibid, p. 187ff.

⁸⁹ Ibid, p. 187.

⁹⁰ Cf. Ibid.

necessarily brings with it any substantial change in the national administrative structure of member states.”⁹¹

Reasoning in the same way as in previous research, Rometsch and Wessels pursued similar questions. While creating the concept of a “fusion theory”, which is based on the idea that Europeanization would lead to a fusion between national and European administrations and institutions, they conducted a comparative country study examining the then twelve member states.⁹² Three hypotheses were raised in order to analyse the effect of European integration on the institutions of the member states. The first hypothesis concerns the concept of Europeanization and proceeds on the assumption that a “shift of attention and participation”⁹³ by the member states takes place and leads to an increase of interaction and involvement of national actors in the European arena. Consequently and secondly, national and European institutions will progressively merge and fusion will take place. Thirdly and finally, convergence towards a common model will emerge as the constitutional and institutional settings in all member states concur through increased interaction and involvement with the European institutions, as summarized by Wessels and Rometsch as follows:

“The basic thesis is that the more member states ‘Europeanize’, the more national institutions are pushed towards ‘convergence’, the ‘fusion’ of national and EU institutions in the policy cycle is a logical intermediary step to this. Conversely, the less member states ‘Europeanize’ and thus move towards ‘nationalization’ the more their institutions show a diverging pattern of behavior; as a logical consequence no ‘fusion’ of national and EU institutions takes place.”⁹⁴

The distinction between “Europeanization” and its counterpart “nationalization” automatically yields the convergence-divergence pattern, which in this context means that Europeanization favors convergence and nationalization encourages divergence in an institutional context. Hence the authors explain that the assumed convergence or divergence of the domestic institutional settings could be revealed by the “degree of Europeanization”⁹⁵. Thus, they distinguish between three different degrees of Europeanization: low, medium and high.⁹⁶ Overall, Wessels and Rometsch could not find any evidence supporting the hypothesis of

⁹¹ Ibid, p. 203.

⁹² Cf. Rometsch, Dietrich, and Wolfgang Wessels. *The European Union and Member States: Towards Institutional Fusion?* Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 1996.

⁹³ Ibid, p. 36.

⁹⁴ Ibid, p. 354.

⁹⁵ Ibid, p. 359.

⁹⁶ Cf. Ibid.

convergence towards a common model, identifying instead institutional and behavioral differences among all member states examined:

“The observation we make is something in between, that could be best circumscribed by the term fusion model and which is characterized by an intensive institutional interaction between national and European actors, a medium to high degree of Europeanization of national institutions and a low trend of convergence towards a single politico-institutional system.”⁹⁷

The increasing cooperation and coordination between national and European institutions has thus led to an “Europeanization” of those organizations, but has not resulted into a “single politico-administrative model”.⁹⁸

Toonen analyses the consequences of the European integration process for member states from a public administrative point of view, in which the concept of Europeanization gains importance. In doing so, he focuses on challenges and problems regarding the Europeanization of public administrations and proposes ways of overcoming these problems and challenges. According to Toonen, the challenges can be divided into four main categories: policy challenges, institutional challenges, functional challenges and public management challenges.⁹⁹ Since the Single European Act was introduced and the construction of the European market began, policy challenges have been primarily characterized by the fact that EU legislation has become more important than national legislation, which leads to a gap between “formal compliance and actual implementation of Community legislation”.¹⁰⁰ Consequently, each country faces the problem of implementing European law but to a different degree because the domestic administrative organization, which can be highly centralized or decentralized, has to adapt progressively to European demands. Therefore, it would be best to establish constitutional co-productions, as national administrations are responsible for policy-making at the national level as well as for policy implementation at the subnational level.¹⁰¹ The Europeanization debate revolves around discussions concerning eventual requirements of institutional reforms, which have been reinforced by the discussion regarding “Europe of the Regions”. In order to face these institutional challenges, administrative reforms should be undertaken in such a way that each country adapts according to its specific arrangements. On these grounds, member states need to analyse precisely the

⁹⁷ Ibid, p. 360.

⁹⁸ Ibid, p. 364.

⁹⁹ Cf. Theo A. J. Toonen, „Europe of the Administrations: The Challenges of ’92 (And beyond)“, *Public Administration Review* 52, No. 2 (March 1, 1992): 108-115.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid, p. 110.

¹⁰¹ Cf. Ibid.

institutional context and problems of their institutions.¹⁰² European Integration in organizational terms also means that lobbying with and in Brussels becomes more and more necessary. Functional challenges arise if each country tries to adapt to these new demands and, in this respect, one can expect diversity among the member states. Some administrative systems might be fairly accessible and malleable like Germany's, but there are certainly systems that are more inaccessible and that struggle to form links with the various stakeholders in and around the European arena. Finally, it is necessary to mention public management challenges, which are seen in the evolving interconnections between national administrations and the European bureaucracy. Besides the fact that "traditional legitimacy of the nation-state is gradually fading", member states nowadays "use the Community administrations to process internal problems."¹⁰³ Furthermore, Toonen even claims that Europeanization, i.e. "internationalization", leads to a "destabilization of existing national administrative systems and patterns."¹⁰⁴ Returning to the principle of subsidiarity, which means that EU policy making should only involve those issues which cannot be handled by lower levels, it implies that there is an adequate "constitution and maintenance of appropriate and dynamic relationships among different units and levels of European government and administration."¹⁰⁵ Hence the requirement for real "public management" is obvious according to this view.

By underlining the importance of European policy coordination due to the increasingly mutual relationship between the European and national level, Metcalfe approaches the study of national administrative systems within the European integration process from a more methodological perspective. Using data from a country study, he examined the policy coordination capacities in the then twelve member states and subsequently compared them with each other. Not only does this study represent the first true approach to national coordination of EU policy (in the strict sense of the word), he also developed a systematic and useful approach to the "analysis and measurement of policy coordination capacities which is useful for managing the development of the capacities required to cope with increasing international interdependence".¹⁰⁶ Basically, he assumes that a dependent relationship between the national and the European level requires stronger policy coordination capacities

¹⁰² Cf. Ibid, p. 113.

¹⁰³ Ibid, p. 111.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid, p. 111.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid, p. 114.

¹⁰⁶ Metcalfe, Les. "International Policy Co-Ordination and Public Management Reform." *International Review of Administrative Sciences* 60, no. 2 (1994): p. 272.

in each member state. Hence he constructed a nine-point Guttman scale that provides “a method of differentiating a series of features of interorganizational relationships which form a logical sequence of components of coordination capacity”¹⁰⁷ and serve as instrument to measure and compare the coordination capacities of the selected countries regarding European policy. Metcalfe’s scale provides information concerning the degree of organization of each country, enabling it to be determined whether there are differences between member states or whether all member states are organized in the same way and to the same degree. Metcalfe’s overall finding consists in the fact that EU policy coordination in some of the selected countries is not suited to the requirements of EU policy-making. Moreover, although he states that national organization of EU policy has developed over time, there are still “pre-existing national patterns”¹⁰⁸ which dominate the process of policy coordination.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, p. 276.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid, p. 289.

2.1.4 Summary

The literature regarding the national coordination of EU policy has its roots in questions about the impact of European integration and EU membership on national administrations in the member states. Assuming that membership leads to changes in administrative practices and that the member states will gradually adapt to European institutional structures, research focusing on national coordination of EU policy underlines the new pressures to which the member states are exposed and which derive from EU membership and the ensuing embeddedness of national administrations in the EU system. The process of adjustment between national and European institutions was then called “Europeanization”, which presents the member states progressively with new challenges and problems. The question of whether the Europeanization of the member states’ administrations results in institutional reforms at the national level was raised very quickly. One author even claims that Europeanization implies a destabilization of existing national administrative systems and patterns.¹⁰⁹ A more positive perspective can be found in more recent research projects, which assert that the institutional collaboration between national and European administrations creates a new balance in national administrative structures. The most widespread idea was the debate revolving around the theory that Europeanization leads to the institutional convergence of national structures, which would result in a common administrative model, the so-called “fusion model”.¹¹⁰ However, several case studies focusing on the effects of Europeanization on national administrations have undermined the idea of a common model as the results showed a mixed picture of continuing convergences and persisting divergences. Therefore, no real consensus can be found in the existing literature about the exact effects of the progressive Europeanization on national administrative structures in the EU member states. However, there is a consensus that neither the convergence nor the divergence hypothesis hold true as the emerging picture contains elements of both trends. In this sense, it can be noted that Europeanization has an impact on the domestic bureaucracy but does not automatically lead to any institutional reform or institutional change at the level of national administrations. One way to identify the effects of the European integration process on national administrations is to focus on national coordination of EU policy in each member state and the system they have

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Toonen, Theo. “Europe of the Administrations: The Challenges of ’92.” *Public Administration Review* (1992): 108–115.

¹¹⁰ Cf. Rometsch, Dietrich, and Wolfgang Wessels. *The European Union and Member States: Towards Institutional Fusion?* Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 1996

constructed in order to carry out coordination. However, it might not be the only way to examine the impact of European integration on member states.

2.2 European socialization literature

As there is more than one way to approach the process of European socialization, previous research has come up with a multitude of perspectives to deal with this issue. Therefore, it is important to distinguish between three main approaches of analyzing socialization in the European context. First and foremost, the examination of the adoption of supranational role conceptions by national civil servants, involved in EU processes represents the most concrete and direct analysis of European socialization processes by testing neo-functionalist's accounts empirically. The partial confirmation of neo-functionalist's assumptions led this group of researchers on to focus on the causes of European socialization processes. The causes are explored by determining the conditions under which supranational role conceptions emerge among national civil servants when attending EU committees. Thus factors that help to explain the emergence of the phenomenon, i.e. the beginnings of EU socialization, were explored. Another way to approach European socialization is to concentrate on the actors, the so-called Eurocrats. Important questions in this literature strand consist in asking who the people are and what exactly they do while commuting between the national and European arena. While the first literature strand has developed since the emergence of neo-functionalist assumptions about how European integration works¹¹¹, the research into Eurocrats has produced a concentrated number of studies in recent years, i.e. from the late 90s onwards. A third and more indirect way of studying European socialization is to look at it from the Europeanization perspective, a phenomenon that emerged during the 90s and which encompasses a vast array of definitions. Europeanization can also be seen as a process, but has to be distinguished from socialization as a process because the two strike different emphases in their research. While the analysis of socialization processes focuses much more on actors behavior or the interplay between actors and institutions, the Europeanization studies are engaged in finding out whether and to what extent institutional adaptation occurs

¹¹¹ Cf. Haas, Ernst. *The Uniting of Europe: Political, Social, and Economic Forces, 1950-1957*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1958.

in the member states, i.e. what extent they become Europeanized. However, all three literature strands help provide more insight into the micro-processes of European integration.

2.2.1 Theoretical framework for analyzing socialization in the European context

Against the background of different European integration theories, studies about European socialization have emerged. However, those studies use different theoretical frameworks within their research design in order to explore the European dimension of socialization in the European Union. The two most frequently deployed theories are neo-functionalism and intergovernmentalism. As research progressed, new approaches and models emerged in order to capture the phenomenon of European socialization. The forerunners of neo-functionalism are federalist¹¹², transactionalist¹¹³ and functional¹¹⁴ approaches. According to the neo-functionalist theory, European integration is driven by spillover effects, which emerge through cooperation between states and automatically create more cooperation in the respective policy area.¹¹⁵ Political spillover in the form of a shift of loyalties from the national to the supranational level takes place:

“Political integration is the process whereby political actors in several distinct national settings are persuaded to shift their loyalties, expectations and political activities toward a new center, whose institutions possess or demand jurisdiction over the pre-existing national states. The end result [...] is a new political community, superimposed over the pre-existing ones.”¹¹⁶

In Haas’ theory, supranational institutions are paramount in the integration process because they ensure the supranationalization of the whole EU system. In this version of Haas’ theory, the whole integration process is not reversible. However, this argument was put into perspective in the 1990s. For instance, cooperation in the economic area triggers more

¹¹² Cf. Mackay, R. W. G. *Towards a United States of Europe: An Analysis of Britain’s Role in European Union*. London: Hutchinson, 1961; Mackay, R. W. G. *Federal Europe, Being the Case for European Federation, Together with a Draft Constitution of a United States of Europe*; London: M. Joseph, 1940.

¹¹³ Cf. Deutsch, Karl W. *Nationalism and Social Communication; An Inquiry into the Foundations of Nationality*. Cambridge: and Wiley, New York, 1953; Sandholtz, Wayne, and Alec Stone Sweet. *European Integration and Supranational Governance*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.

¹¹⁴ Cf. Mitrany, David. “The Functional Approach to World Organization.” *International Affairs* 24, no. 3 (1948): 350–363; Mitrany, David. *The Functional Theory of Politics*. London School of Economics & Political Science, 1975; Mitrany, David. “The Prospect of Integration: Federal or Functional.” *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 4, no. 2 (1965): 119–149.

¹¹⁵ Cf. Rosamond, Ben. *Theories of European Integration*. New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2000.

¹¹⁶ Haas, Ernst. *The Uniting of Europe: Political, Social, and Economic Forces, 1950-1957*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1958: p. 16.

cooperation and thus expands to other policy areas. Three different spill-over effects can be identified, i.e. cultivated, functional and political spill-over:

“Thus, economics had not (entirely) vanquished politics and the processes of functional spillover required direction and coordination from a higher authority. (...) Cultivated spillover describes the high authority’s actions to upgrade the common interest of the various parties engaged in the new institutional setting. This brokering would allow genuinely progressive incursions into the realm of functional spillover. (...) political spillover – whatever form it took – would require a process of loyalty transfer.”¹¹⁷

Although neo-functionalism as a macro-theory offers a possible explanation for how European integration can evolve, reality thwarted Haas’ plan. The theory assumes that continuous consensus, which is steadily omnipresent, persists between the participating countries.¹¹⁸ Viewed in this light, this represents a necessary precondition for integration to progress with the objective of becoming an “ever closer union”¹¹⁹. However, France’s empty chair policy in the mid-sixties illustrates an example that was irreconcilable with neo-functionalist assumptions. France, as a founding member and key actor in the European setting displayed a behavior that clearly put national interest first and that would have been unimaginable for the neo-functionalist.¹²⁰ Examples like the empty-chair crisis appeared to invalidate the theory. In the ensuing years, the theory was scrapped and taken up again several times.¹²¹ Against the background of the historical development of Europe in the last six decades and the evolution of EU institutions and the European Union as a political, economic and cultural confederation, neo-functionalist assumptions seem to be obsolescent. Although it tries to predict the integration process (from the point of view of the 1950s), we can now state several gaps in the theory and observe a relative superficiality regarding its conditions and variables. In general, one can say that the neo-functionalist approach is a one-sided construction, but is in itself logical and coherent. If one considers the neo-functionalist ideas of how future integration will proceed from the point of view of the situation in the 1950s, its predictions do not seem unreasonable. Haas could not know that the cooperation between the

¹¹⁷ Rosamond, Ben. *Theories of European Integration*. New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2000: p. 61ff.

¹¹⁸ Cf. Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Treaty on European Union, Article A: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/en/treaties/dat/11992M/htm/11992M.html>, retrieved July 2011.

¹²⁰ Cf. Palayret, Jean Marie, Winand, Pascaline and Wallace, Helen. *Visions, Votes, and Vetoes: The Empty Chair Crisis and the Luxembourg Compromise Forty Years on*. Brussels, Belgium; New York: Peter Lang, 2006.

¹²¹ Cf. Haas, Ernst B. *The Obsolescence of Regional Integration Theory*. Berkeley: Institute of International Studies, University of California, 1975; Haas, Ernst. *The Study of Regional Integration: Reflections on the Joy and Anguish of Pretheorizing*. Berkeley: University of California, 1970; Haas, Ernst. “Turbulent Fields and the Theory of Regional Integration.” *International Organization* 30, no. 2 (1976): 173–212; Ernst B. Haas, ‘Does Constructivism Subsume Neo-Functionalism?’, in Thomas Christiansen, Knud Erik Jørgensen and Antje Wiener (eds.), *The Social Construction of Europe* (London: Sage, 2001): 22-31.

six founding members would grow to number twenty-eight members “united in diversity”¹²². Today the European Union pursues the goal to decide in common but to respect and tolerate the unique characteristics of each member state. On the contrary, with each enlargement the idea of constructing a federal European system diminished. The central weakness of the theory is thus that it does not take into account the different national interests of the participating member states, which can lead to dissent and divergence in the collaboration at the European level. One could conclude that the theory’s predictions were correct in several respects (spill-over effects) and largely wrong in others (continuous convergence between member states).

In contrast to neo-functionalism, intergovernmentalism works on the idea that states at the international level are different because they all have different national interests. Transferring this thought to the European level and the European integration process, intergovernmentalists would argue that the integration process is heterogeneous and not homogenous as claimed by neo-functionalists.¹²³ In the foreground of the theoretical interest are the states and governments, as in realist approaches. Nation states meet at a supranational level with a motivation that is driven by ensuring the preservation of their national sovereignty by targeting agreement at the lowest common denominator. Collaboration in this scenario is thus characterized by cooperation between different states, attempting to come to a joint decision while remaining sovereign.¹²⁴ Consequently, discretionary competence is not in the hands of supranational institutions. Moravcsik as an exponent of Liberal intergovernmentalism adds the domestic level to the theory of intergovernmentalism. He assumes that interests, presented at the EU level, and preference formation occur firstly at the national level and are highly dependent on domestic configurations and pressures.¹²⁵ Both theories, neo-functionalism and intergovernmentalism, are macro-theories that contribute to the theorizing of European integration. However, are these theories appropriate for analyzing socialization processes at the European (institutional) level? Investigating individuals and their interactions in the European institutions calls rather for micro-level approaches. One possibility to do this is

¹²² The EU motto: http://europa.eu/about-eu/basic-information/symbols/index_en.htm, retrieved July 2011.

¹²³ Cf. Hoffmann, Stanley. “Obstinate or Obsolete? The Fate of the Nation-State and the Case of Western Europe.” *Daedalus* 95, no. 3 (July 1, 1966): 862–915.

¹²⁴ Cf. Rosamond, Ben. *Theories of European Integration*. New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2000.

¹²⁵ Cf. Moravcsik, Andrew. “Introduction: Integrating International and Domestic Theories of International Bargaining.” *Double-Edged Diplomacy: International Bargaining and Domestic Politics* (1993): 3–42; Moravcsik, Andrew. “Preferences and Power in the European Community: A Liberal Intergovernmentalist Approach.” *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 31, no. 4 (1993): 473–524.

embodied by constructivism. Constructivists examine how structures and actors in international relations are socially constructed. Therefore, the main interest of constructivists lies in the interdependence between institutions and actors and in the analysis of action patterns.¹²⁶ New institutionalist approaches may also offer insights in this regard. The new institutionalism focuses on the analysis of the relationship between institutions and individuals as well as adjustment processes from an institutionalist perspective. The new institutionalism, in its different variants (rational choice, historical, sociological and discursive institutionalism), accentuates the importance of institutions in the European integration process. The logic of appropriateness, for instance, can be understood as one dynamic of institutional adjustment processes. It is addressed by the sociological institutionalism and represented by the authors March and Olsen.¹²⁷

In the course of research conducted in the last two decades, a small group of researchers developed a model of representation in order to approach the phenomenon of European socialization.¹²⁸ Focusing on different forms of representation and three different representational roles, Trondal and Veggeland address European socialization from a different perspective. Thus, their model tries to predict when exactly individuals working in the EU institutions adopt certain specific roles.

No matter which theory, model or approach one takes to explain the phenomenon of European socialization, all of those presented in this chapter contribute to more insights about the socialization process and the conditions required for its emergence.

¹²⁶ Cf. “Why Comply? Social Learning and European Identity Change.” *International Organization* 55, no. 03 (2001): 553–588; Checkel, Jeffrey T. “Going Native’ in Europe? Theorizing Social Interaction in European Institutions.” *Comparative Political Studies* 36, no. 1–2 (2003): 209–231; Zürn, Michael, and Jeffrey T. Checkel. “Getting Socialized to Build Bridges: Constructivism and Rationalism, Europe and the Nation-State.” *International Organization* (2005): 1045–1079; *International Institutions and Socialization in Europe*. Cambridge University Press Cambridge, 2007.

¹²⁷ Cf. March, J.G., and J.P. Olsen. *The Logic of Appropriateness*. Advanced Research on the Europeanization of the Nation-State (ARENA): Working Papers, 2004.
http://dingo.sbs.arizona.edu/~ggoertz/pol595e/March_Olsen2006.pdf; March, James G., and Johan P. Olsen. *Rediscovering Institutions: The Organizational Basis of Politics*. New York [etc.]: The Free press, 1989; March, James G., and Johan P. Olsen. “The Institutional Dynamics of International Political Orders.” *International Organization* 52, no. 4 (1998): 943–969; March, James G., and Johan P. Olsen. “The New Institutionalism: Organizational Factors in Political Life.” *The American Political Science Review* (1984): 734–749.

¹²⁸ Cf. Trondal, Jarle, and Frode Veggeland. “Access, Voice and Loyalty: The Representation of Domestic Civil Servants in EU Committees.” *Journal of European Public Policy* 10, no. 1 (2003): 59–80.

2.2.2 The adoption of supranational role conceptions and conditions for their emergence

2.2.2.1 Measuring European socialization

Studies exploring the adoption of supranational role conceptions display a variety of approaches to investigate this research field. I have identified some seventeen major studies concentrated on European socialization and its origins.¹²⁹ In order to categorize them, it is necessary to distinguish two different types of study. On the one hand, most of the studies examined whether national civil servants adopt supranational role conceptions, role perceptions, role orientations or identities when attending EU committees, and if so, which conditions favor this adoption. In so doing, they tested the neo-functionalist assumption of spillover effects empirically and all found the theory to be partially correct. Thus, the overall result has been that national officials display supranational role conceptions after being in contact with the European arena. However, pre-existing role conceptions were not replaced by supranational ones but were rather supplemented by them. This possibility had not been considered by the neo-functionalists. Therefore, the result contributed to the undermining of

¹²⁹ Cf. Scheinman, Lawrence, and Werner Feld. "The European Economic Community and National Civil Servants of the Member States." *International Organization* 26, no. 1 (1972): 121–35; Kerr, Henry. *Changing Attitudes through International Participation: European Parliamentarians and Integration*. Cambridge University Press, 1973; Beyers, Jan. "How Supranational Is Supranationalism? National and European Socialization of Negotiators in the Council of Ministers" (1999); Egeberg, Morten. "Transcending Intergovernmentalism? Identity and Role Perceptions of National Officials in EU Decision-Making." *Journal of European Public Policy* 6, no. 3 (1999): 456–474; Hooghe, Liesbet. "Supranational Activists or Intergovernmental Agents? Explaining the Orientations of Senior Commission Officials toward European Integration." *Comparative Political Studies* 32, no. 4 (1999): 435–463; Schaefer, Guenther F., Morten Egeberg, Silvo Korez, and Jarle Trondal. "The Experience of Member State Officials in EU Committees: A Report on Initial Findings of an Empirical Study." *Eipascopia* 2000, no. 3 (2000): 1–7; Trondal, Jarle. "Is There Any Social Constructivist-Institutionalist Divide? Unpacking Social Mechanisms Affecting Representational Roles among EU Decision-Makers." *Journal of European Public Policy* 8, no. 1 (2001): 1–23; Trondal, Jarle. "Beyond the EU Membership-Non-Membership Dichotomy? Supranational Identities among National EU Decision-Makers." *Journal of European Public Policy* 9, no. 3 (2002): 468–487; Trondal, Jarle, and Frode Veggeland. "Access, Voice and Loyalty: The Representation of Domestic Civil Servants in EU Committees." *Journal of European Public Policy* 10, no. 1 (2003): 59–80; Beyers, Jan, and Jarle Trondal. "How Nation States' Hit Europe: Ambiguity and Representation in the European Union." *West European Politics* 27, no. 5 (2004): 919–942; J. Trondal, „Re-Socializing Civil Servants: The Transformative Powers of EU Institutions“, *Acta Politica* 39, Nr. 1 (2004): 4–30; Beyers, Jan. "Multiple Embeddedness and Socialization in Europe: The Case of Council Officials." *International Organization* 59, no. 4 (2005): 899–936; Trondal, Jarle. "An Institutional Perspective on Representation. Ambiguous Representation in the European Commission." *European Integration Online Papers (EIoP)* 10 (2006); Trondal, Jarle. "Is the European Commission a 'Hothouse' for Supranationalism? Exploring Actor-Level Supranationalism." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 45, no. 5 (2007): 1111–1133; Lempp, Jakob, and Janko Altenschmidt. "The Prevention of Deadlock through Informal Processes of 'Supranationalization': The Case of Coreper." *European Integration* 30, no. 4 (2008): 511–526; Trondal, Jarle. "How Supranational Are Intergovernmental Institutions?: Assessing the Socializing Power of Council Working Parties." Working Paper. Centre for European Studies, Agder University College, 2003.

the neo-functionalist theory, which does not imply any variation or differences and presumes homogeneous processes instead of heterogeneous ones.¹³⁰ This concerns only those studies in which the dependent variable is role conception, role perception, role orientation or identity.

On the other hand, only a few studies focused specifically on the roles that national officials hold play in the European and national setting. Here, a distinction has to be made between roles in general and specific roles. Studies that focus in general on roles underline the “dual role” inherent to national Eurocrats.¹³¹ The research about specific roles of national civil servants is a relatively under-researched type of study. It suggests different roles as the dependent variable, such as a government representative role, an independent expert role or a supranational role. In those research designs, the focus is not on how national officials conceive or perceive their role but a classification is made based on the role they perform when attending EU committees. The main difference between role conception and role as the dependent variable is thus that roles are attributed to the national official by the researcher while the individuals themselves determine role conceptions.

2.2.2.2 Problems with definition

The very limited literature body of studies that measure European socialization contains a set of different definitions concerning the dependent variable: supranational role conceptions. In a stricter sense, one could claim that each researcher uses his or her own term. The literature unveils terms as for example “supranational identity”, “role conception”, “supranational allegiances”, “supranational loyalties”, “supranational role”, “role perception”. Only one study explicitly defines the term supranational role conception. Trondal and Beyers (2004) define supranational role conceptions as national officials who “view Europe as an autonomous level primarily designed for finding policy solutions in the interest of a common European good. This role implies a desire to promote the project of European collective

¹³⁰ Cf. Haas, Ernst and D. Dinan. *The Uniting of Europe: Political, Social, and Economic Forces, 1950-1957*. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 2004.

¹³¹ Cf. Thedvall, Renita. *Eurocrats at Work: Negotiating Transparency in Postnational Employment Policy*. Stockholm: Dept. of Social Anthropology, University of Stockholm, 2006; Thedvall, Renita. *The EU's Nomads: National Eurocrats in European Policy-Making*, 2008. <http://aei.pitt.edu/id/eprint/8046>; Geuijen et al., Karin. *The New Eurocrats: National Civil Servants in EU Policy-Making*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008; Lewis, Jeffrey. “The Janus Face of Brussels: Socialization and Everyday Decision Making in the European Union.” *International Organization* 59, no. 4 (2005): 937–971; Kerremans, Bart. “Do Institutions Make a Difference? Non-Institutionalism, Neo-Institutionalism and the Logic of Common Decision-Making in the European Union.” *Governance* 9, no. 2 (1996): 217–240.

policy-making.”¹³² In the same study, the authors distinguish between two additional terms: role perceptions and supranational roles. According to Beyers and Trondal role perceptions are “norms, rule, expectations and prescriptions of appropriate behavior perceived by those carrying out representational tasks”¹³³ while supranational roles implies an identification “with EU institutions, interests and policy position (....) Thus a supranational official identifies with the EU committees attended or with the EU as a whole and is EU-minded and loyal to EU policies and politics”¹³⁴. In a former study, Trondal and Veggeland define supranational role as “perceiving oneself as an EU participant or as an EU committee participant”. In his opinion, “intensive and protracted participation on Commission expert committees increases the likelihood that the representative evoke supranational and sectoralized role perceptions”.¹³⁵ While Trondal emphasizes the identification with the EU arena, Beyers underlines the normative aspects of this term in one of his most recent studies:

“Role conceptions are norms held by state representatives on what constitutes appropriate behavior in the CWGs.”¹³⁶

In contrast to Beyers et al., Egeberg talks about supranational identities and defines them as “the values and goals of a certain group” that “have become internalized in that particular person to a greater extent thus making external control mechanisms more or less superfluous”.¹³⁷ To sum up, we can identify two aspects in the above-mentioned definitions. One target the normative dimension of the proposed definitions by arguing that role conceptions are norms that serve as directory for national officials. Another aspect in the definitions indicates a tendency for process-oriented explanations. The most interesting question at this point concerns the difference between a supranational role conception and a supranational identity. We learn from Egeberg that identities are constructed through a process of internalization – but aren’t supranational role conceptions the outcome of a similar

¹³² Beyers, Jan, and Jarle Trondal. “How Nation States’ Hit Europe: Ambiguity and Representation in the European Union.” *West European Politics* 27, no. 5 (2004): 920.

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ Trondal, Jarle, and Frode Veggeland. “Access, Voice and Loyalty: The Representation of Domestic Civil Servants in EU Committees.” *Journal of European Public Policy* 10, no. 1 (2003): 62.

¹³⁶ Beyers, Jan. “Multiple Embeddedness and Socialization in Europe: The Case of Council Officials.” *International Organization* 59, no. 4 (2005): 900.

¹³⁷ Egeberg, Morten. “Transcending Intergovernmentalism? Identity and Role Perceptions of National Officials in EU Decision-Making.” *Journal of European Public Policy* 6, no. 3 (1999): 458.

process? Moreover, it seems that the identification of adopted supranational role conceptions can be proved in two different ways: (1) national officials that show a European vision and favor the European project and (2) national officials that have learned certain norms, rules, expectations and prescriptions of appropriate behavior. Are both aspects elements of the same process or can we identify different processes within the European socialization process? Nevertheless, this discussion has shown that it is not possible to identify a clear definition of what supranational role conceptions exactly are.

2.2.2.3 The three dimensions of independent socialization variables

Furthermore, most of the existing studies can be regarded as studies that analyze committees in the Council of Ministers or the European Commission. Relatively few studies focus on EU committees in general, for whichever institution. Therefore, the designation of the institution examined is important because each European institution displays idiosyncrasies that have specific effects on the socialization process. According to new institutionalists, institutions are the decisive factor in the socialization process.¹³⁸ Hence we can assert that the adoption of supranational role conceptions in the Council of Ministers differs from that in the European Commission. As regards the selection of the countries in the research to date, it can be noted that the majority of studies have investigated Scandinavian national officials. The countries analyzed comprise Denmark, Sweden and Norway first and foremost, followed by Belgium and other small member states. No study has yet investigated all countries in each period of enlargement over the last sixty years. A great number of studies have also undertaken comparisons between countries by selecting two or more countries. The individuals who have been examined have been either national civil servants from different policy areas, permanent representatives or seconded national officials, attending different types of committees, such as CWGs, CWP or expert committees. Some studies distinguish between full-timers and part-timers as well as between medium- and lower-rank positions.¹³⁹ A few studies focused on the

¹³⁸ Cf. March, James G., and Johan P. Olsen. *Rediscovering Institutions: The Organizational Basis of Politics*. New York: The Free press, 1989; Bulmer, Simon J. "The Governance of the European Union: A New Institutional Approach." *Journal of Public Policy* 13 (1993): 351–351; Egeberg, Morten. "An Organizational Approach to European Integration: Outline of a Complementary Perspective." *European Journal of Political Research* 43, no. 2 (2004): 199–219; March, James G., and Johan P. Olsen. "The Institutional Dynamics of International Political Orders." *International Organization* 52, no. 4 (1998): 943–969.

¹³⁹ Cf. Trondal, Jarle. "Beyond the EU Membership-Non-Membership Dichotomy? Supranational Identities among National EU Decision-Makers." *Journal of European Public Policy* 9, no. 3 (2002): 468–487, Beyers, Jan. "Multiple Embeddedness and Socialization in Europe: The Case of Council Officials." *International*

analysis of diplomats, delegates to parliament and representatives of the Council secretariat.¹⁴⁰ Methodologically speaking, we can find both qualitative and quantitative approaches; only a few studies used exclusively qualitative methods. As mentioned earlier, one principal finding is that supranational role conceptions do not supplement national ones. They are instead complemented by supranational role conceptions and national officials demonstrate multiple role conceptions:

“(…) loyalty shifts may take place, but only marginally. This is confirmed in the empirical part. Being embedded in EU level structures and separated in time and space from their primary institutional affiliations back home, officials tend to develop a sense of allegiance to the supranational level. However, the identity evoked in EU level settings does not replace identities evoked in national institutions; it is, rather, complementary and secondary.”¹⁴¹

The second principal finding relates to the conditions required for supranational role conceptions to be adopted. The following conditions/independent variables were tested:

Organization 59, no. 4 (2005): 899–936.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. Lewis, Jeffrey. “The Janus Face of Brussels: Socialization and Everyday Decision Making in the European Union.” *International Organization* 59, no. 4 (2005): 937–971; Kerr, Henry. *Changing Attitudes through International Participation: European Parliamentarians and Integration*. Cambridge University Press, 1973; Beyers, Jan. “How Supranational Is Supranationalism? National and European Socialization of Negotiators in the Council of Ministers” (1999); Lempp, Jakob, and Janko Altenschmidt. “The Prevention of Deadlock through Informal Processes of ‘Supranationalization’: The Case of Coreper.” *European Integration* 30, no. 4 (2008): 511–526.

¹⁴¹ Egeberg, Morten. “Transcending Intergovernmentalism? Identity and Role Perceptions of National Officials in EU Decision-Making.” *Journal of European Public Policy* 6, no. 3 (1999): p. 470f.

Table 1 : Independent Socialization Variables on three dimensions

| Institutional dimension | Individual dimension | Temporal dimension |
|---|--|---|
| National institutional affiliation | Institutional experience | Degree of participation |
| Type of institution/level in hierarchy | European or international experience | Length and intensity of the participation |
| Civil servants from ministry vs. Foreign office | Extensive domestic socialization | Frequent interaction |
| Vertical vs. horizontal specialisation | Personal attitudes | Full-timers vs. part-timers |
| Federal vs. unitary countries | Trust in national political environment | Length of membership |
| Type of committee | Attitude of political elite towards EU integration | |
| Seniority in committee | EU membership | |
| Participation in CWG with QMV | | |
| Number of veto players | | |
| Relationship between veto players | | |
| Efficient vs. inefficient national | | |

The independent variables are classified on three levels of analysis: the institutional dimension, the individual dimension and the temporal dimension. In previous research it is relevant that the focus has been on the analysis of institutional and individual factors. Independent variables that were tested most frequently involve the national institutional affiliation of the subjects, the type of institution and/or the hierarchical level, whether it involves a federal or unitary state, whether the national coordination is efficient or inefficient, whether or not the country is a EU member as well as the length and the intensity of participation. In the following I will explain in more detail those independent variables that were tested most frequently in the literature.

National institutional affiliation

One of the main results in the studies is that supranational role conceptions are secondary¹⁴² because national civil servants see their role principally in defending national interests at the EU level.¹⁴³ This indicates that national institutional affiliation is of great importance. Furthermore, the national role conceptions of national civil servants in Council Working Parties are prone dominante. The same applies to national officials who work in both institutions.¹⁴⁴ A further result is the fact that they perform multiple representational roles¹⁴⁵ as well as the fact that adopted supranational role conceptions reflect the intensity of attendance in EU committees.¹⁴⁶

Type of institution and/or level in hierarchy

Civil servants working in or coming from a domestic ministry are more likely to display national than supranational role conceptions. National officials from highly specialized agencies are less likely to adopt national role conceptions.¹⁴⁷ Civil servants from the ministry level take positions that they believe to be of interest for their country to a larger extent than officials at the agency level. They feel less allegiance to their own policy sector than those at the agency level and pay less attention to professional considerations than people from agencies. This refers to the government representational role. On the other hand, independent

¹⁴² Cf. Trondal, Jarle. "Beyond the EU Membership-Non-Membership Dichotomy? Supranational Identities among National EU Decision-Makers." *Journal of European Public Policy* 9, no. 3 (2002): 468–487; Egeberg, Morten. "Transcending Intergovernmentalism? Identity and Role Perceptions of National Officials in EU Decision-Making." *Journal of European Public Policy* 6, no. 3 (1999): 456–474; Beyers, Jan, and Jarle Trondal. "How Nation States' Hit Europe: Ambiguity and Representation in the European Union." *West European Politics* 27, no. 5 (2004): 919–942; Trondal, Jarle, and Frode Veggeland. "Access, Voice and Loyalty: The Representation of Domestic Civil Servants in EU Committees." *Journal of European Public Policy* 10, no. 1 (2003): 59–80.

¹⁴³ Cf. Beyers, Jan, and Jarle Trondal. "How Nation States' Hit Europe: Ambiguity and Representation in the European Union." *West European Politics* 27, no. 5 (2004): 919–942.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. Egeberg, Morten. "Transcending Intergovernmentalism? Identity and Role Perceptions of National Officials in EU Decision-Making." *Journal of European Public Policy* 6, no. 3 (1999): 456–474.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. Trondal, Jarle, and Frode Veggeland. "Access, Voice and Loyalty: The Representation of Domestic Civil Servants in EU Committees." *Journal of European Public Policy* 10, no. 1 (2003): 59–80.

¹⁴⁶ Cf. Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ Cf. Egeberg, Morten. "Transcending Intergovernmentalism? Identity and Role Perceptions of National Officials in EU Decision-Making." *Journal of European Public Policy* 6, no. 3 (1999): 456–474.

expert roles are mostly performed by officials from the agency level.¹⁴⁸ Furthermore, the perceived weakness of domestic networks in Belgium contributes to supranationalism.¹⁴⁹

National coordination

One study found that 87% of national officials in the Council of Ministers¹⁵⁰ receive instructions compared to 32% in the Commission. According to Egeberg, this finding illustrates the intergovernmental character of the Council. Supranational allegiances thus emerge when instructions from the domestic ministry are unclear and the overall coordination is poorly developed as well as when there are relatively few clearances with the ministry of foreign affairs:

“(…) officials evoking supranational allegiances tend to seek relatively few clearances with the MFA before attending EU committees, tend to coordinate poorly with all relevant ministries, and have unclear instructions as to what ‘positions’ to pursue during EU committee meetings. These observations suggest that supranationalism reflects the general lack of ex ante national co-ordination processes.”¹⁵¹

The lack of national coordination paves the way for an emergence of supranational identities.¹⁵² In the comparative study of Trondal and Beyers, Swedish CWP participants displayed no lack of written or unwritten instructions. On the other hand, Belgian officials were in the opposite situation with a severe lack of instructions:

“The centralized Swedish coordination system provides CWP representatives with fairly binding instructions and little room for supranationalism.”¹⁵³

Whereas:

“(…) Belgian representatives have few clear instructions and [...] they therefore face difficulties in figuring out which positions they should defend at the EU level. In the Belgian case this correlates considerably with supranational role orientations.”¹⁵⁴

¹⁴⁸ Cf. J. Trondal und F. Veggeland, ‘Access, Voice and Loyalty: The Representation of Domestic Civil Servants in EU Committees’, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 10 (2003)

¹⁴⁹ Cf. Beyers, Jan. “Multiple Embeddedness and Socialization in Europe: The Case of Council Officials.” *International Organization* 59, no. 4 (2005): 899–936.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. Egeberg, Morten. “Transcending Intergovernmentalism? Identity and Role Perceptions of National Officials in EU Decision-Making.” *Journal of European Public Policy* 6, no. 3 (1999): 456–474.

¹⁵¹ Cf. Trondal, Jarle. “Beyond the EU Membership-Non-Membership Dichotomy? Supranational Identities among National EU Decision-Makers.” *Journal of European Public Policy* 9, no. 3 (2002): 468–487.

¹⁵² Cf. Ibid.

¹⁵³ Beyers, Jan, and Jarle Trondal. “How Nation States’ Hit Europe: Ambiguity and Representation in the European Union.” *West European Politics* 27, no. 5 (2004): p. 937.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid, p. 935.

Another interesting finding was that, apparently, full-timers receive more detailed instructions and guidelines. Consequently, part-timers obtain less detailed instructions but according to Beyers this result is statistically insignificant.¹⁵⁵ Hence less frequent and intensive involvement leads to weak instructions and poor domestic coordination and policy preparation, and this in turn stokes favoring supranationalism, i.e. the adoption of supranational role conceptions.¹⁵⁶

EU membership

The variable “EU membership” is an important variable to consider. It was found that EU membership has an impact on the incidence of supranational allegiances. In a country study that examined Norway, it was discovered that Norwegian national officials evoke less supranational allegiances than countries like Denmark or Sweden.¹⁵⁷ In this sense, the study proved that non-EU member countries (e.g. Norway) evoke less supranational allegiances than EU member countries (e.g. Denmark, Sweden).

In the study of Trondal and Veggeland, three different roles were developed to determine the incidence of supranational allegiances. Independent expert roles are thus synonymous with the occurrence of supranational allegiances and government representative roles rather represent the occurrence of national role conceptions. In their study, Trondal and Veggeland found that national officials from EU member states tend to develop independent expert roles (supranational allegiances) more strongly than national officials from non-EU member states. Consequently, national officials from non-EU member states tend to adopt government representative roles (national allegiances) more extensively than independent expert roles (supranational allegiances).¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁵ Cf. Beyers, Jan. “Multiple Embeddedness and Socialization in Europe: The Case of Council Officials.” *International Organization* 59, no. 4 (2005): 899–936.

¹⁵⁶ Cf. Trondal, Jarle. “Beyond the EU Membership-Non-Membership Dichotomy? Supranational Identities among National EU Decision-Makers.” *Journal of European Public Policy* 9, no. 3 (2002): 468–487.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. Trondal, Jarle & Veggeland, F., ‘Access, Voice and Loyalty: The Representation of Domestic Civil Servants in EU Committees’, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 10 (2003).

Length and intensity of participation

Supranational allegiances among national officials are more strongly developed when intensive participation and long periods are involved. Attending a great number of EU committees means identifying less strongly with specific committees than attending fewer committees. Officials with many informal contacts outside EU committees become less strongly exposed to the esprit de corps that emerges within each committee.¹⁵⁹ Officials who experience intensive interaction adopt a supranational actor role more strongly than officials who do not experience intensive interaction. The intensity that they experience in Committees, increases the relative primacy of the supranational actor role.¹⁶⁰ The only evidence for suggesting European socialization relates to the duration of involvement.¹⁶¹ Full-timers are more intensively involved in CWGs and they meet more frequently with officials from other member states.¹⁶²

Roles

The “dual role” that national Eurocrats hold due to their work in both arenas comprises a role as national representative and as European agent. Both roles co-exist and shift depending on the evolution of the policy-making process.¹⁶³ On the one hand, they act in the interest of their country and, on the other, on behalf of the EU. Hence they contribute to the process of Europeanization by making decisions and are thus forming a post-national EU community.¹⁶⁴ Regarding research into the holding of specific roles, three different roles can be established from the literature: government representative roles that result from national role conceptions, independent expert roles, and supranational roles that result from supranational role conceptions. The overall result is that national civil servants tend to adopt several representational roles when attending EU committees¹⁶⁵ but also that they can be in conflict with each other. Government representative and independent expert roles reflect different

¹⁵⁹ Cf. Trondal, Jarle. “Beyond the EU Membership-Non-Membership Dichotomy? Supranational Identities among National EU Decision-Makers.” *Journal of European Public Policy* 9, no. 3 (2002): 468–487.

¹⁶⁰ Cf. Trondal, Jarle and F. Veggeland, ‘Access, Voice and Loyalty: The Representation of Domestic Civil Servants in EU Committees’, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 10 (2003).

¹⁶¹ Cf. Beyers, Jan. “Multiple Embeddedness and Socialization in Europe: The Case of Council Officials.” *International Organization* 59, no. 4 (2005): 899–936.

¹⁶² Cf. Ibid.

¹⁶³ Cf. Thedvall, Renita. *The EU's Nomads: National Eurocrats in European Policy-Making*, 2008. <http://aei.pitt.edu/id/eprint/8046>.

¹⁶⁴ Cf. Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. Trondal, Jarle. “An Institutional Perspective on Representation. Ambiguous Representation in the European Commission.” *European Integration Online Papers (EIoP)* 10 (2006).

national institutional affiliations, whereas supranational roles refer to allegiances towards EU institutions. According to the empirical findings, supranational roles have been adopted relatively rarely compared to the other two types of role. However, intensive and long participation in EU committees or intensive exposure to supranational institutions increases the likelihood of supranational roles being adopted.¹⁶⁶ Furthermore, the dynamics of pre- and re-socialization are of utmost importance for detecting the type of role.¹⁶⁷ Various institutional affiliations may explain why some roles are adopted more than others. Another study of seconded national officials in the European Commission showed that national officials adopted multiple roles, particularly departmental, epistemic and supranational roles.¹⁶⁸ This leads to the conclusion that processes of re-socialization within the Commission are at work.

Trondal is the only researcher to focus on specific roles. He has examined all three types of roles with all different types of national official and in all different types of institution. Starting with the analysis of national officials in Commission expert committees and CWPs, he finds that expert roles are developed more strongly in Commission expert committees than in CWPs. On the other hand, supranational allegiances are developed if the officials in question dedicate a great deal of time and energy to those institutions.¹⁶⁹ Following this study, he examined national civil servants in Commission expert committees and national officials in the Permanent Representations who attend Council Working Parties.¹⁷⁰ Here, he observed that national officials “go native” but do not “stay native”. The interaction and socialization is fairly intensive and informal after their stay in Brussels. Therefore, national and sectoral roles emerge more strongly the more intense the participation in EU committees is and the more likely national roles are to dominate. National officials who are in Brussels from time to time are more likely to adopt supranational roles.¹⁷¹ After that, Trondal studied temporary commission officials (SNEs) in the European Commission, who tend to evoke multiple representational roles that can be labelled a “composite mix of representational roles”¹⁷². This

¹⁶⁶ Cf. Trondal, Jarle and F. Veggeland, ‘Access, Voice and Loyalty: The Representation of Domestic Civil Servants in EU Committees’, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 10 (2003).

¹⁶⁷ Cf. Trondal, Jarle. “Is the European Commission a ‘Hothouse’ for Supranationalism? Exploring Actor-Level Supranationalism.” *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 45, no. 5 (2007): 1111–1133.

¹⁶⁸ Cf. Ibid.

¹⁶⁹ Cf. Trondal, Jarle. “Is There Any Social Constructivist-Institutionalist Divide? Unpacking Social Mechanisms Affecting Representational Roles among EU Decision-Makers.” *Journal of European Public Policy* 8, no. 1 (2001): 1–23.

¹⁷⁰ Trondal, Jarle und F. Veggeland, ‘Access, Voice and Loyalty: The Representation of Domestic Civil Servants in EU Committees’, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 10 (2003); Trondal, Jarle. “The Parallel Administration of the European Commission: National Officials in European Clothes?” (2003).

¹⁷¹ Cf. Ibid.

¹⁷² Cf. Trondal, Jarle. “An Institutional Perspective on Representation. Ambiguous Representation in the

reflects the organizational and institutional affiliations in which they are embedded. Roles that are particularly adopted are departmental, epistemic and supranational roles. An important aspect in the study of roles is the fact that officials are pre-socialized in their domestic ministry and then re-socialized in the Commission.¹⁷³

To sum up, it is important to underline five factors that have repeatedly shown that national officials adopt supranational role conceptions under certain conditions. However, it is also important to mention that supranational role conceptions do not replace national role conceptions but they are instead complementary.¹⁷⁴ Furthermore, national civil servants were observed to adopt a multiple set of national sectoral and supranational role conceptions.¹⁷⁵ If they come from a unitary state, they tend to adopt intergovernmental role perceptions.¹⁷⁶ Secondment, however, introduces a conflict of loyalties, which creates problems of independence and efficiency.¹⁷⁷ As concerns the reception of instructions, autonomy in instructions signifies less of a contradiction between playing a national and a supranational role.¹⁷⁸ Moreover, the composite mix of representational roles evoked by these officials reflects the organizational boundaries and hierarchies entrenched in them.¹⁷⁹ Officials with more domestic administrative experience proved to be more supranational than those with

European Commission.” *European Integration Online Papers (EIoP)* 10 (2006).

¹⁷³ Cf. Trondal, Jarle. “Is the European Commission a ‘Hothouse’ for Supranationalism? Exploring Actor-Level Supranationalism.” *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 45, no. 5 (2007): 1111–1133.

¹⁷⁴ Cf. Egeberg, Morten. “Transcending Intergovernmentalism? Identity and Role Perceptions of National Officials in EU Decision-Making.” *Journal of European Public Policy* 6, no. 3 (1999): 456–474; Trondal, Jarle. “Beyond the EU Membership-Non-Membership Dichotomy? Supranational Identities among National EU Decision-Makers.” *Journal of European Public Policy* 9, no. 3 (2002): 468–487; Trondal, Jarle und F. Veggeland, ‘Access, Voice and Loyalty: The Representation of Domestic Civil Servants in EU Committees’, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 10 (2003); Beyers, Jan. “Multiple Embeddedness and Socialization in Europe: The Case of Council Officials.” *International Organization* 59, no. 4 (2005): 899–936; Trondal, Jarle. “Re-Socializing Civil Servants: The Transformative Powers of EU Institutions.” *Acta Politica* 39, no. 1 (2004): 4–30; Hooghe, Liesbet. “Supranational Activists or Intergovernmental Agents? Explaining the Orientations of Senior Commission Officials toward European Integration.” *Comparative Political Studies* 32, no. 4 (1999): 435–463.

¹⁷⁵ Trondal, Jarle. “Beyond the EU Membership-Non-Membership Dichotomy? Supranational Identities among National EU Decision-Makers.” *Journal of European Public Policy* 9, no. 3 (2002): 468–487; Trondal, Jarle und F. Veggeland, ‘Access, Voice and Loyalty: The Representation of Domestic Civil Servants in EU Committees’, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 10 (2003); Trondal, Jarle. “An Institutional Perspective on Representation. Ambiguous Representation in the European Commission.” *European Integration Online Papers (EIoP)* 10 (2006); Smith, Keith A. “The European Economic Community and National Civil Servants of the Member States—A Comment.” *International Organization* 27, no. 4 (1973): 563–568.

¹⁷⁶ Cf. Beyers, Jan, and Jarle Trondal. “How Nation States’ Hit Europe: Ambiguity and Representation in the European Union.” *West European Politics* 27, no. 5 (2004): 919–942.

¹⁷⁷ Cf. Scheinman, Lawrence, and Werner Feld. “The European Economic Community and National Civil Servants of the Member States.” *International Organization* 26, no. 1 (1972): 121–35.

¹⁷⁸ Cf. Beyers, Jan. “Multiple Embeddedness and Socialization in Europe: The Case of Council Officials.” *International Organization* 59, no. 4 (2005): 899–936.

¹⁷⁹ Cf. Trondal, Jarle. “An Institutional Perspective on Representation. Ambiguous Representation in the European Commission.” *European Integration Online Papers (EIoP)* 10 (2006)

less.¹⁸⁰ The view of officials is greatly influenced by their prior state career and previous political socialization with former state employees.¹⁸¹ Therefore, it cannot be argued that the national political and administrative culture of a member state does not matter. Thus, socialization is not necessarily a functional process.¹⁸² Contrary to the socialization hypothesis, Beyers found that extensive exposure to the European level does not necessarily lead to supranational role adoption. Domestic factors more so than European-level conditions have a positive effect on the adoption of supranational role conceptions.¹⁸³ On the other hand, weak domestic socialization contributes to the adoption of supranational roles.¹⁸⁴ In the temporal dimension, it was found that the intensity of participation is decisive for the adoption of supranational role conceptions. However, the length of participation seems to be less important.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸⁰ Cf. Beyers, Jan. "How Supranational Is Supranationalism? National and European Socialization of Negotiators in the Council of Ministers" (1999); Hooghe, Liesbet. "Supranational Activists or Intergovernmental Agents? Explaining the Orientations of Senior Commission Officials toward European Integration." *Comparative Political Studies* 32, no. 4 (1999): 435–463.

¹⁸¹ Cf. Ibid.

¹⁸² Cf. Beyers, Jan. "How Supranational Is Supranationalism? National and European Socialization of Negotiators in the Council of Ministers" (1999).

¹⁸³ Cf. Beyers, Jan. "Multiple Embeddedness and Socialization in Europe: The Case of Council Officials." *International Organization* 59, no. 4 (2005): 899–936.

¹⁸⁴ Cf. Ibid.

¹⁸⁵ Cf. Trondal, Jarle. "Is There Any Social Constructivist-Institutionalist Divide? Unpacking Social Mechanisms Affecting Representational Roles among EU Decision-Makers." *Journal of European Public Policy* 8, no. 1 (2001): 1–23; Trondal, Jarle & F. Veggeland, 'Access, Voice and Loyalty: The Representation of Domestic Civil Servants in EU Committees', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 10 (2003); Trondal, Jarle. "Re-Socializing Civil Servants: The Transformative Powers of EU Institutions." *Acta Politica* 39, no. 1 (2004): 4–30.

2.2.3 National Eurocrats – Who they are and what they do

A further possibility to gain more insights into European socialization and its processes is to focus on national Eurocrats. Studies that question who the Eurocrats are and what exactly they do during their work have assumed a progressively more prominent place in the relevant literature. Most of the studies emerged in the late 90s and have been developed up to now. They all examine different types of (national) Eurocrats: seconded national experts, national officials as well as Commissioners and use opposite pairs as independent variables such as short-/long-term contracts, current/former seconded national experts as well as upper-/middle-rank Eurocrats.¹⁸⁶ Most of the studies investigate national Eurocrats in the Commission¹⁸⁷ and a few the Council of Ministers or domestic ministries.¹⁸⁸ In terms of the selection of the countries, the same pattern emerges as in the studies about European socialization, which reveals a strong preference for Scandinavian countries and the Netherlands. The majority of the studies examined Scandinavian countries such as Sweden, Denmark and Norway. Only one study examined all nine member states by comparison and is the oldest study of national Eurocrats¹⁸⁹. Methodologically speaking, the existing studies display a strong variety of methods in order to gain more insight into the topic. Although most of them utilize classical methods like the mix of quantitative and qualitative techniques or only qualitative methods, one study even employs ethnographical methods. The literature on Eurocrats reveals three main thematic priorities. The first focuses on the attitude of National Eurocrats. This concerns, on the one hand, their attitude towards political integration¹⁹⁰ and, on the other, their attitude within political systems, e.g. the relationship between background characteristics

¹⁸⁶ Cf. Trondal, Jarle, Caspar Van Den Berg, and Semin Suvarierol. "The Compound Machinery of Government: The Case of Seconded Officials in the European Commission." *Governance* 21, no. 2 (2008): 253–274; Feld, Werner J., and John K. Wildgen. "National Administrative Elites and European Integration Saboteurs at Work." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 13, no. 3 (1975): 244–265.

¹⁸⁷ Cf. Ibid., Egeberg, Morten. "Executive Politics as Usual: Role Behavior and Conflict Dimensions in the College of European Commissioners." *Journal of European Public Policy* 13, no. 1 (2006): 1–15; Trondal, Jarle. "An Institutional Perspective on Representation. Ambiguous Representation in the European Commission." *European Integration Online Papers (EIoP)* 10 (2006); Thedvall, Renita. *Eurocrats at Work: Negotiating Transparency in Postnational Employment Policy*. Stockholm: Dept. of Social Anthropology, University of Stockholm, 2006; Thedvall, Renita. *The EU's Nomads: National Eurocrats in European Policy-Making*, 2008. <http://aei.pitt.edu/id/eprint/8046>.

¹⁸⁸ Cf. Geuijen et al., Karin. *The New Eurocrats: National Civil Servants in EU Policy-Making*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008; Dierickx, Guido, and Jan Beyers. "Belgian Civil Servants in the European Union: A Tale of Two Cultures." *West European Politics* 22, no. 3 (1999): 198–222.

¹⁸⁹ Cf. Feld, Werner J., and John K. Wildgen. "National Administrative Elites and European Integration Saboteurs at Work." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 13, no. 3 (1975): 244–265.

¹⁹⁰ Cf. Ibid.

and Eurocrats' attitude in a certain political system.¹⁹¹ As regards Eurocrats' attitude towards political integration, a study conducted in 1974 examining the then nine member states found that most of the civil servants interviewed do not support further political integration of the EU. The author even argues that those civil servants would have a great many motives to block political integration:

“There is obvious resistance by a majority of our respondents to move beyond economic integration. This resistance is founded and bolstered by personal interests and aspirations and involves understandable concern for organizational continuity and viability of the institution in which civil servants are employed. (...) the evidence from our data suggests that a substantial number of national civil servants has a variety of motivations to hinder progress toward political integration, self-interest as perceived by some bureaucrats coupled with broad international aspirations may well generate sincere support for political integration on the part of a number of civil servants in the EC member states. Whether they can translate this support into affirmative action is another question that we cannot answer at this time.”¹⁹²

Eurocrats' attitude within the political system is considered from the perspective of background characteristics. A study conducted in 1969 thus ascertains that some background characteristics are relevant to Eurocrats' attitude within a political system. Furthermore, Eurocrats' attitudes seem to vary from system to system. Hence, a positive correlation between the political system and Eurocrats attitude is confirmed.¹⁹³ A second topic in Eurocrat literature deals with their behavior. Similarly, different features of behavior have been examined such as their behavior in general or, more specifically, their decision-making behavior and their strategic behavior in meetings. In general, the behavior of national Eurocrats is not homogeneous.¹⁹⁴

A study about seconded national experts in the Commission aimed to analyze their decision-making behavior. For this purpose, Trondal distinguishes four different types of behavior: departmental (portfolio), epistemic (expert), supranational and intergovernmental behavior.¹⁹⁵ Moreover, several conditions that influence the behavior of SNEs can be noted: “the

¹⁹¹ Cf. Searing, Donald D. “The Comparative Study of Elite Socialization.” *Comparative Political Studies* 1, no. 4 (1969): 471–500.

¹⁹² Feld, Werner J., and John K. Wildgen. “National Administrative Elites and European Integration Saboteurs at Work.” *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 13, no. 3 (1975): p. 264f.

¹⁹³ Cf. Searing, Donald D. “The Comparative Study of Elite Socialization.” *Comparative Political Studies* 1, no. 4 (1969): 471–500.

¹⁹⁴ Cf. Feld, Werner J., and John K. Wildgen. “National Administrative Elites and European Integration Saboteurs at Work.” *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 13, no. 3 (1975): 244–265.

¹⁹⁵ Cf. Trondal, Jarle. “An Institutional Perspective on Representation. Ambiguous Representation in the European Commission.” *European Integration Online Papers (EIoP)* 10 (2006).

organizational composition of the Commission and domestic government system, degrees of organizational compatibility across levels of governance, recruitment procedures of SNEs, socialization dynamics within the Commission.”¹⁹⁶ By examining SNEs’ “[...] contact patterns, their co-ordination patterns, their emphasis on proposals, statements and arguments from different institutions, their agreement on concrete statements and their perceptions of other SNEs with respect to their representational roles [...]”¹⁹⁷, he discovered that SNEs revealed ambivalent behavior. This is due to their “ambiguous organizational embeddedness”¹⁹⁸ because they belong to two different organizations: one at the national level and the other at the European level:

“[...] this double de-coupling accompanies behavioral ambiguities among SNEs. One implication thereof is that SNEs evoke a triangular behavioral pattern that is dominated by departmental, epistemic and supranational dynamics.”¹⁹⁹

Examining the role of national civil servants in EU governance, a study conducted in the Netherlands in 2008 analyses the way the diplomatic representation of different governments’ functions. The study thus focuses on the involvement of Dutch national civil servants in EU-related activities, the perception of their EU work and how the Dutch public administration including national officials’ work is organized. The basic assumptions of the research group identify national officials work to be discrete and autonomous by operating mainly independently because instructions by superiors remain scarce. As the diplomats’ work is very specific, it is difficult for them to find an adequate replacement. The focus of superiors essentially lies on a limited number of important topics. Dutch diplomats use networks in order to influence their positions, especially regarding their superiors as they can negotiate an international consensus in their position. In terms of preparation and coordination, two arenas at EU level are identified by the authors: departmental and interdepartmental. Furthermore, they detected three different types of strategic behaviour: signalling, frontloading and coalition-formation. The principal finding of this study highlights the importance of a member state seeking to influence a proposal text at the pre-proposal stage of the Commission. According to the authors, member states that seek the modification of a Commission proposal should try to build coalitions with other member states in the committee meetings. Consequently, “the member states that move first actually end up succeeding in locking in

¹⁹⁶ Ibid, p. 149.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid, p. 150.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid, p. 156.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid, p. 157.

their own positions before the Commission formally submits the proposal to the Council and European Parliament.”²⁰⁰ Hence, the behavior of national civil servants is oriented towards the strategy the respective government pursues. Another way of revealing the behavior of national Eurocrats is detailed in the ethnographical study of Swedish Eurocrats in the European Commission. Here, conclusions about Eurocrats’ behavior are based on participant observation. During her work in a specific working group of the Commission, Thedvall categorizes the Eurocrats’ behavior the “backstage/-frontstage” terminology invented by Goffmann.²⁰¹ In this sense, national Eurocrats display two different behaviors: one before the meeting where they behave in character and one in the meeting where “the member states representatives often put on the role of civil servants representing the nation state.”²⁰²

The two studies - the ethnography of Swedish national Eurocrats and the study about Dutch Eurocrats - represent the most extensive research into national Eurocrats and shine a light on the topic at several levels and from different perspectives.

²⁰⁰ Geuijen et al., Karin. *The New Eurocrats: National Civil Servants in EU Policy-Making*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008: p. 74.

²⁰¹ Cf. Goffman, Erving. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1959; Thedvall, Renita. *Eurocrats at Work: Negotiating Transparency in Postnational Employment Policy*. Stockholm: Dept. of Social Anthropology, University of Stockholm, 2006.

²⁰² Ibid, p. 110.

2.2.4 Summary

This chapter aims to provide an overview of the existing literature on analyzing European socialization processes. However, neither theoretical nor empirical research into European socialization uncovers an integral socialization process. Rather, fragments or several parts of the European socialization process have become visible through the results of the empirical studies.²⁰³ Similarly, the literary jury is out regarding what exactly socialization is or what it consists of and implies. In this respect, Beyers offers a rare clear statement about what is understood by European socialization:

“European socialization implies, then, that the involvement in European venues causes a redefinition of norms and practices, and these European norms and values gradually become ‘internalized’ as part of the self. More generally, European socialization refers to the adaptive learning process of national organizational structures, and the individuals representing these, to a changing, or changed, and increasingly Europeanized political environment.”²⁰⁴

In this sense, European socialization not only comprises the socialization of national officials at the European level but also the Europeanization of the domestic institutional structures. When exactly the socialization process starts, when it is finished, and whether there are different degrees of socialization also remain unexplained. Consensus among researchers can be found concerning the overall finding that European socialization does take place. Yet it is relatively unclear how exactly this happens. Additionally, the European socialization literature reveals a “diverse [...] conceptualization and operationalization of key variables [...]”²⁰⁵. Most of the studies attempt to portray European socialization by examining the role conceptions of different types of national civil servants assessing pre-existing and newly created role conceptions. According to Beyers, individuals are thus “[...] reduced to role-takers or ‘vessels’ to be filled with norms, knowledge, habits and beliefs.”²⁰⁶ The question, however, is whether the adoption of supranational role conceptions can be accepted as proof that socialization has taken place:

“But socialization is more than collectivities socializing individuals or individuals internalizing roles or norms.”²⁰⁷

²⁰³ Cf. Beyers, Jan. “Conceptual and Methodological Challenges in the Study of European Socialization.” *Journal of European Public Policy* 17, no. 6 (2010): 909–920.

²⁰⁴ Ibid, p. 909f.

²⁰⁵ Ibid, p. 910.

²⁰⁶ Ibid, p. 911.

²⁰⁷ Ibid, p. 911.

This point of view is not widespread in the existing literature although it is important to include the complexity of socialization processes at the European level. Socialization as a process of internalization of norms and values appears more complex than either the proposed adoption of role conceptions or the explanation of the conditions under which supranational role conceptions emerge. It is also doubtful as to why the existing literature has not included primary socialization processes but has only raised questions about international experiences and/or European experiences concerning the professional level directly. It is therefore important to determine when and how socialization takes place.²⁰⁸

Theoretically speaking, European socialization is embedded in existing integration theories of the European Union. European socialization can be conceived differently depending on the theory. From an institutionalist perspective, socialization starts with the creation of an institution. This institution is then the leading factor in the socialization process and takes the role of diffusing norms and values. Socialization seen from a social-constructivist point of view is a process that starts with the initiative of political entrepreneurs that champion “new norms and values through normative suasion”²⁰⁹. Here, active deliberations of political stakeholders are key to internalizing new norms and values. A third possibility for imagining European socialization is the neo-functionalist approach, which stresses the shift of loyalties from the national to the European level as a positive result of economic integration.²¹⁰ However, it is debatable whether those theories, models and approaches are suitable for explaining European socialization. In order to illustrate European socialization, one can approach the topic from different perspectives. The focus can be on the institutions, on the actors or on both as well as on the mutual impact they have on each other. In general, three terms are used in the literature that are of relevance: socialization, Europeanization and European socialization. All three terms refer to different circumstances. Although all three terms are defined as processes, Europeanization does not have the same significance as socialization because of its phenomenon²¹¹ character. Moreover, the literature on Europeanization focuses on institutions as central actors in the process, whereas literature on

²⁰⁸ Cf. Beyers, Jan. “Conceptual and Methodological Challenges in the Study of European Socialization.” *Journal of European Public Policy* 17, no. 6 (2010): 909–920.

²⁰⁹ Ibid, p. 916.

²¹⁰ Cf. Ibid.

²¹¹ “Phenomenon” means here that Europeanization as a concept is not comparable with European socialization for example, because it is rather a phenomenon that is difficult to explain and to uncover. This becomes clear through the high number of definitions that one can find in the literature. Researchers do not agree on what Europeanization actually is, therefore it remains a phenomenon that everybody tries to explain in his or her own way.

socialization either addresses the actors or both institutions and actors as well as the interplay between them. To what extent Europeanization and socialization relate to each other is as yet unclear. One could use the term “Europeanization” as synonym for “European socialization”. Whether or not it would be reasonable to do so remains doubtful.

2.3 Conclusion: A gap in the literature

Although there have been studies about how member states coordinate their EU policy and how they are socialized into the EU system, no study of Luxembourg can be found up to now that includes these two aspects in its research design. The examination of Luxembourg under these two aspects presents something of a conceptual challenge: How does the Luxembourgish national coordination of EU policy and the European socialization of Luxembourgish national officials relate to each other? To what extent does the phenomenon of Europeanization affect European socialization and Luxembourg’s national coordination of its EU policy? Several attempts have already been undertaken to link national coordination with the phenomenon of Europeanization and its effects on institutional structures in the member states.²¹² This study therefore aims to find out to what extent Luxembourg’s political system influences national coordination and socialization processes and vice versa. First of all, it is necessary to explore Luxembourg’s administrative as well as its political culture. To what extent is the Luxembourgish political culture “Europeanized”, i.e. adapted in a European sense? As soon as the picture of Luxembourg becomes clear, it will be possible to establish hypotheses about how Luxembourgish coordination vis-à-vis EU matters takes place, how it is socially integrated in the EU system and to what extent it is Europeanized. A second step could be to investigate the role conceptions of national officials. In order to find out whether they hold a certain role, one could verify whether this role matches with the other types of roles proposed in the literature. Historically, Luxembourg has often acted as mediator in the European integration process.²¹³ Especially the sometimes opposing interests of France and Germany have required diplomatic skills in European negotiations. Luxembourg being surrounded geographically by these two important actors at the European level, has taken the role of an “honest middleman” brokering compromises because it had few interests of its

²¹² Cf. section 2.1.3 as regards the analysis of national administrations from an Europeanization perspective

²¹³ See for instance the example of Pierre Werner and European monetary policy

own.²¹⁴ Therefore, it would be interesting to find out which role Luxembourgish representatives embody at both levels. More generally, it is also necessary to answer the question of whether the national coordination of EU policy and European socialization are interdependent. Does a certain coordination style lead to a specific form of socialization, or is the coordination style irrelevant for ongoing socialization processes? In the previous research, efficient or inefficient coordination has been used as an independent variable in order to detect the influence of coordination on socialization. The results show that inefficient coordination favors the adoption of supranational role conceptions. Therefore, it is of the utmost importance to straighten out exactly what “European socialization” comprises. Claiming more creativity regarding the development of research designs, Beyers proposes focusing on time variables as well as on the socialization process itself, as focusing on the outcome of the socialization process might reduce the scope for gaining more insights into the processes of European socialization.²¹⁵

²¹⁴ Cf. Lorig, Wolfgang H. *Das politische System Luxemburgs eine Einführung*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2008.

²¹⁵ Cf. Beyers, Jan. “Conceptual and Methodological Challenges in the Study of European socialization.” *Journal of European Public Policy* 17, no. 6 (2010): 909–920.

3. Empirical studies

My thesis consists of two different studies that are related to each other in several respects. The first study explores, with the help of qualitative methods, how Luxembourg coordinates its EU policy. The second study deals with the effects of European socialization on Luxembourgish national officials and uses both quantitative and qualitative methods - a multi-method approach, in other words – in order to analyze them.

The analysis of European socialization encompasses a wide range of aspects that are important in order to understand exactly what happens in the socialization process including, amongst others, the external framework representing the institutional circumstances in which European socialization takes place. In the European public policy literature, this aspect is reflected in the analysis of the national coordination system of EU policy. Some EU member states have already been examined, meaning that it has been possible to establish an initial “inventory” of the (institutional) involvement of each member state in the EU arena. However, there are no studies and no information about how Luxembourg coordinates its EU policy either at national or at EU level, making it important in a first step to analyze these aspects. The research into European socialization can be understood as forming a constituent part of the first study. The way in which a country - in my case Luxembourg - coordinates its EU policy delivers crucial contextual information that is necessary for an understanding of the EU process as a whole.

The examination of Luxembourg’s national coordination system is thus analyzed qualitatively as no information is yet available about it that could allow more in-depth scrutiny. Therefore, the first topic is designed to give a first impression/overview of the status quo. The second topic then uses this basic information to analyze more fundamental underlying processes of EU integration in Luxembourg.

The method applied in the interviews of both topics is mainly based around an interest in gaining new insights into, firstly, how Luxembourg coordinates its EU policy and, secondly, the European socialization of national officials regarding the case of Luxembourg. Using mixed-method approaches in order to gain these new insights represents only one side of the coin. The other is reflected in the fact that I chose not to use traditional evaluation methods such as “content analysis” or “process tracing” to evaluate my interview data. Instead, I

believe that a reconstructive approach focusing on extracting the sense of the text and not on previous categorization would be most advantageous for my research.

In methodological terms, the first and second study use different however complementary approaches. The first is examined qualitatively because it is the only appropriate way of approaching the central question, and the second uses a mixed-method approach, exploring the question qualitatively through interviews and quantitatively through a survey.

3.1 Methods

Research frameworks that use mixed method research as a basis for their analysis have increased in number over recent decades. Mixed method designs use quantitative as well as qualitative methods in order to examine issues:

“Mixed method research is the type of research in which a researcher or team of researchers combines elements of qualitative and quantitative research approaches (e.g. use of qualitative and quantitative viewpoints, data collection, analysis, inference techniques) for the broad purposes of breadth and depth of understanding and corroboration.”²¹⁶

According to Johnson et al., the “mixing” refers to the use of different methodological approaches within a single study. It thus represents the third research paradigm in addition to qualitative and quantitative research paradigms:

“In reaction to the polarization between quantitative and qualitative research, another intellectual movement (focusing on synthesis) occurred and it has come to be called mixed methods research. We currently are in a three methodological or research paradigm world, with quantitative, qualitative and mixed method research all thriving and coexisting.”²¹⁷

²¹⁶ Johnson, R. Burke, Anthony J. Onwuegbuzie, and Lisa A. Turner. “Toward a Definition of Mixed Methods Research.” *Journal of Mixed Methods Research* 1, no. 2 (2007): p. 123.

²¹⁷ Ibid, p. 117.

Both qualitative and quantitative methods can be utilized sequentially or simultaneously in the framework of a mixed-method design.²¹⁸ Mixed method research is a very recent method among the three paradigm types, having only gained recognition in the 1960s.²¹⁹ There is thus considerable debate in the literature on mixed method research about its systematic structures. The number of research designs that exist under the label “MMR” are very diverse. Therefore, the diversity of research frameworks using both quantitative and qualitative methods requires a typology of mixed method research.²²⁰ Just as there are significant variations in mixed method research frameworks, there are different reasons for researchers to use mixed-method research. However, researchers working within this research paradigm see advantages in using more than one method to solve their research questions. Rossmann and Wilson, for example, propose three possibilities for using quantitative and qualitative methods within one research framework, which they term corroboration (1), elaboration (2) and initiation (3). Corroboration describes a (1) “between-methods design that tests for convergent validity. (...) It brings together data collected through more than one method to see if there is convergence in the findings. (2) A second between-methods design allows one type of data to elaborate the findings of the other. Elaboration provides richness and detail. It expands understanding of the phenomenon studied through refinement and development. (3) The most complex design, holistic or contextual, goes beyond scaling, reliability, or convergent validity. This design seeks to uncover paradox and contradiction, and has the potential of leading to a substantial alteration in the overall perspective with which the problem as a whole is viewed. (...) This larger, contextual perspective seeks areas where findings do not converge. It can therefore initiate interpretations and conclusions, suggest areas for further analysis, or recast the entire research question. (...) We argue that both methods can work iteratively to derive a more complete understanding of the phenomenon in question. It is our contention that both methods can be used fruitfully for all three functions and that neither necessarily take precedence over the other.”²²¹ Collins et al. present four rationales for the use of both quantitative and

²¹⁸ Cf. Goerres, Achim and Prinzen, Katrin. “Using Mixed Methods for the Analysis of Individuals: A Review of Necessary and Sufficient Conditions and an Application to Welfare State Attitudes.” *Quality and Quantity* 46, no. 2 (2012): 415–450; Leech, Nancy L., and Anthony J. Onwuegbuzie. “A Typology of Mixed Methods Research Designs.” *Quality & Quantity* 43, no. 2 (2009): 265–275.

²¹⁹ Cf. Johnson, R. Burke, Anthony J. Onwuegbuzie, and Lisa A. Turner. “Toward a Definition of Mixed Methods Research.” *Journal of Mixed Methods Research* 1, no. 2 (2007).

²²⁰ Cf. Leech, Nancy L., and Anthony J. Onwuegbuzie. “A Typology of Mixed Methods Research Designs.” *Quality & Quantity* 43, no. 2 (2009): 265–275.

²²¹ Rossmann, G. B., & Wilson, B. L. (1985). Numbers and words: Combining quantitative and qualitative methods in a single large-scale evaluation study. *Evaluation Review*, 9, 632.

qualitative methods: (1) participant enrichment, (2) instrument fidelity, (3) treatment integrity, (4) significance enhancement. They signify the following:

- (1) “Participant enrichment represents the mixing of quantitative and qualitative techniques for the rationale of optimizing the sample. One way to optimize a sample is by increasing the number of participants.
- (2) (...) the instrument fidelity theme or rationale refers to steps taken by the researcher to maximize the appropriateness and/or utility of the instruments used in the study, whether quantitative or qualitative.
- (3) Treatment integrity represents the mixing of quantitative and qualitative techniques for the rationale of assessing the fidelity of interventions, treatments or programs.
- (4) Significance enhancement represents mixing quantitative and qualitative techniques for the rationale of enhancing researchers’ interpretation of data. A researcher can use qualitative data to enhance statistical analyses, quantitative data to enhance qualitative analyses, or both.”²²²

These two groups of researchers are merely examples for the rationales used for mixed method research. Many proponents of mixed method research can be found in the literature.²²³

The principal reason researchers use mixed method research frameworks in order to answer research questions lies in the idea that different methodological approaches increase the likelihood of achieving the best results. Each method, whether quantitative or qualitative, has its strengths and weaknesses. Qualitative methods generally offer more detailed information and tend to be descriptive, whereas quantitative methods focus on the verification of theoretical claims in a broad empirical study with the aid of statistical analysis. Therefore, quantitative methods are appropriate for generalizations whereas qualitative methods are suitable for discovering new insights that shed light on detailed aspects of the data. Using both methods in one research framework also brings with it the advantages and

²²² Collins, Kathleen MT, Anthony J. Onwuegbuzie, and Ida L. Sutton. “A Model Incorporating the Rationale and Purpose for Conducting Mixed Methods Research in Special Education and beyond.” *Learning Disabilities: A Contemporary Journal* 4, no. 1 (2006): p. 76ff.

²²³ Cf. Collins, Kathleen MT, Anthony J. Onwuegbuzie, and Ida L. Sutton. “A Model Incorporating the Rationale and Purpose for Conducting Mixed Methods Research in Special Education and beyond.” *Learning Disabilities: A Contemporary Journal* 4, no. 1 (2006): 67–100; Creswell, John W., and Vicki L. Plano Clark. *Designing and Conducting Mixed Methods Research*. Wiley Online Library, 2007; Leech, Nancy L., and Anthony J. Onwuegbuzie. “A Typology of Mixed Methods Research Designs.” *Quality & Quantity* 43, no. 2 (2009): 265–275; Wolf, Frieder. “Enlightened Eclecticism or Hazardous Hotchpotch? Mixed Methods and Triangulation Strategies in Comparative Public Policy Research.” *Journal of Mixed Methods Research* 4, no. 2 (2010): 144–167.

inconveniences of both: “Only in certain circumstances, the combination of two methods overcomes their respective weaknesses and leads to a higher level of social phenomenon.”²²⁴

The mixed method approach used in my study tends toward the traditional. For the first part of my thesis, I used solely qualitative methods as the aim was to gain new insights into the situation in Luxembourg and not to verify existing data. The second part of my thesis was different as previous research into the effects of European socialization on national officials has mainly been examined using quantitative methods. I therefore decided first to approach the topic quantitatively and then use in-depth interviews designed to shed new light on the survey results. Bearing in mind that neither method has yet been applied to Luxembourg, the methodological approach chosen in my study errs towards the qualitative as the aim of my study as a whole was to explore the Luxembourgish situation in terms of these two aspects.

²²⁴ Goerres, Achim and Prinzen, Katrin. “Using Mixed Methods for the Analysis of Individuals: A Review of Necessary and Sufficient Conditions and an Application to Welfare State Attitudes.” *Quality and Quantity* 46, no. 2 (2012): p. 416.

3.2 Study 1: The national coordination of EU policy in Luxembourg

The little information that I could find regarding the national coordination of EU policy in Luxembourg before I undertook my analysis relates to studies connected with an analysis of the phenomenon of Europeanization and the implementation of EU directives²²⁵, which by and large represents the end of the coordination process and is a step that is followed after EU policy has been coordinated. From this perspective, my study is the first to deal with the topic extensively and in depth. I examined the national coordination of EU policy in Luxembourg using qualitative methods because my intention was generally to find out new information about the way EU policy is coordinated there as the existing literature offered virtually no information in this regard.

As I had decided to use only interviews to find out how Luxembourg coordinates its EU policy, I started by sourcing individuals directly involved in the EU coordination process. I began by contacting one national official, who then provided a list of other national officials in the public administration of Luxembourg who would help me with my request - triggering a “snowball-effect”. At European level, I contacted the leadership of the Permanent Representation in order to get in touch with the respective national officials. After making this first initial contact, I had 12 national officials that agreed to give an interview. I chose not to search for any more interviewees as it was not so much the number of participants that would be decisive for my study as the quality of the interviews themselves. Eight out of the twelve interviewees were male and the rest female. The ministries that were represented in this study were as follows: the Foreign Ministry, the Agriculture Ministry, the Finance Ministry, the Ministry of State, the Ministry of Sustainable Development and Infrastructure and the Ministry of Justice. During the interviews, the national officials were questioned extensively about the national coordination of EU policy. The questionnaire comprised four topic groups: establishing Luxembourg’s position, (institutional) coordination bodies at both European and national level, the conflict resolution system and the perception of what ‘European’ means.

²²⁵ Cf. Dumont, Patrick, and Astrid Spreitzer. “The Europeanization of Domestic Legislation in Luxembourg.” in: *The Europeanization of Domestic Legislatures*, edited by Sylvain Brouard, Olivier Costa, and Thomas König, Studies in Public Choice. Springer New York, 2012: 131–149; Hoscheit, Jean-Marc, Malou Weirich and Paul Yntema: „Luxembourg“, in: Siedentopf, Heinrich and Jacques Ziller. *Making European Policies Work: The Implementation of Community Legislation in the Member States*. London; Newbury Park: Sage Publications, 1988; Merten-Beissel, Simone. “L’inflation législative et réglementaire au Grand-Duché de Luxembourg.” *Cahiers Economiques. Banque Internationale* no. 1 (1987): 4–26; Bichler, Marc: “The Case of Luxembourg”, in: Pappas, Spyros A. (eds.) *National Administrative Procedures for the Preparation and Implementation of Community Decisions*. Maastricht: European Institute of Public Administration, 1995.

Each topic group contained several further questions, both open and closed. The interview was therefore semi-structured.²²⁶ Interviewees could choose to speak in German or French.

In order to extract new findings from the data, I went through each interview marking relevant text passages that directly or indirectly answered my question, namely: How does Luxembourg coordinate its EU policy? The text passages were selected based on an objective interpretation of the text. More theoretical modes of explanation usually comb through a text checking whether the data in question is consistent with the existing data. However, this kind of procedure prevents the analyst from discovering new elements in the data as the focus lies on the known and not on the unknown. Discovering new findings automatically means moving away from aspects already researched and a disregard for existing theories and results. If the analyst of the interview material looks at the text through the lens of established theories and categories, he or she will perceive it with these categories in mind and will not look at the text and its originality as each interviewee does not necessarily have the same priorities as existing theories or findings do or even the analyst him-/herself does.²²⁷ However, the priorities set by the interviewee during the interview represent potential new and previously unexplored findings. It is thus the task of the analyst to unveil them. After extracting the relevant information collected, I arranged it in the form of bullet points on index cards. Once I finished this task, I tried to find overarching categories by getting an overview and identifying relevant topics. This form of categorization was not oriented towards existing theoretical approaches or categories but rather based on the originality of the text. In a next step, the index cards were assigned to the respective overarching category, enabling me to filter out several different thematic blocks at the end of the evaluation process. These did not necessarily mirror the categorization of the interview guide exactly but rather represented new categories and topics that emerged out of the interview process.

²²⁶ Cf. Appendix 6.3 and 6.4: Interview Guide „The National Coordination of EU policy“.

²²⁷ Cf. Kruse, Jan. *Reader „Einführung in die Qualitative Interviewforschung.“* Freiburg: Institut für Soziologie, 2010; Bohnsack, Ralf. *Rekonstruktive Sozialforschung: Einführung in qualitative Methoden.* Opladen: Leske + Budrich, 2003; Bohnsack, Ralf, Iris Nentwig-Gesemann, and Arnd-Michael Nohl. *Die dokumentarische Methode und ihre Forschungspraxis: Grundlagen qualitativer Sozialforschung.* Wiesbaden: VS, Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2007; Wagner, Hans-Josef. *Rekonstruktive Methodologie: George Herbert Mead und die qualitative Sozialforschung.* Opladen: Leske + Budrich, 1999; Lucius-Hoene, Gabriele, and Arnulf Deppermann. *Rekonstruktion narrativer Identität: ein Arbeitsbuch zur Analyse narrativer Interviews.* Wiesbaden: VS, Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2004.

3.2.1 Learning and adaptation processes at institutional level

The Luxembourgish coordination system is characterized by a high degree of informality, flat hierarchic structures and a tradition of consensus. As the Luxembourgish central apparatus has a very small public administration based on simplified hierarchical structures, the coordination and organization of the Luxembourgish EU policy is shaped by a degree of flexibility. Due to the close network within the different departments and the close collaboration among colleagues, contact can be established very quickly and directly. The fact that Luxembourgish national officials in the public administration of Luxembourg know one another favors short channels of communication and allows swift and flexible functioning. The teams are small and each national official has a lot of work to deal with because their fields of responsibility are very diverse. This mix of a chronic shortage of personnel and simplified hierarchical structures makes EU policy easier to coordinate at national level:

“The administrative hierarchical structure is helping the coordination because few people are involved.”²²⁸

It should be reiterated that all national officials from each department and ministry know one another personally. In this way the national coordination of EU policy is brought down to an individual level. A further characteristic of the Luxembourgish coordination system is the absence of centralized structures as the coordination of EU policy varies according to policy area and topic. The following factors determine how coordination finally takes place:

- topic
- person
- policy area
- ministry

²²⁸ Interview with National Official # 10, 9th of November 2011.

The coordination of EU policy is thereby individual and selective because there are no uniform and centralized schemes that are applied; rather the individual case is analyzed and the coordination is adjusted to its specific features. The extent to which the respective hierarchy is involved in determining the bargaining positions varies as it is dependent on the responsible ministry and displays variations across policy areas. Furthermore, the Luxembourgish system is traditionally characterized by a policy based on consensus, which comes especially into its own once EU affairs are on the agenda. It contributes to the fact that Luxembourg can prove its influence at the European level. Another feature of the Luxembourgish coordination system is a chronic shortage of personnel. On the one hand, the small number of national officials allows a good overview of who is responsible for which dossier and hence facilitates collaboration among officials. On the other hand, it also implies a high workload for each national official. Due to the lack of personnel, the analysis of each dossier is quite superficial. Owing to time and efficiency constraints, national officials focus only on the essential aspects of a dossier. Looking at it in this light, Luxembourgish officials are “permanent multi-level players”, who have to be present and need to coordinate at both national and European levels.

In comparison with the situation 50 years ago, Luxembourg’s staff has multiplied because it has become more and more important to be present in Brussels and it is no longer sufficient to work from the capital. This notably concerns contacts with the European Commission. It is of utmost importance for the Luxembourgish government to be up to date before the Commission’s proposal is published. As soon as a dossier is attributed to the responsible ministry, the respective national official undertakes the analysis. Luxembourgish national officials have significant responsibilities but also a lot of freedom concerning the analysis of a dossier and EU policy-making. As they never receive instructions in written form, the degree of autonomy is relatively high. Another reason for this ‘freedom’ is the absence of a rotation principle concerning the position of each national civil servant. Luxembourgish national officials do not need to change their position on a regular basis. They occupy a position up to 20 years and thus have a thorough knowledge and many years of experience in EU affairs. In this respect, the responsibility conferred on national officials is appropriate. Dossiers of high importance are likely to lead national officials to confer with their superiors instead of acting autonomously. However, this can vary according to the ministry and policy area. As Luxembourgish national officials display an “extreme proximity with their politicians”²²⁹ it is

²²⁹ Interview with national official # 10, 9th of November 2011.

also possible that they confer directly with the minister due to the flat hierarchical structures allowing a high level of approachability.

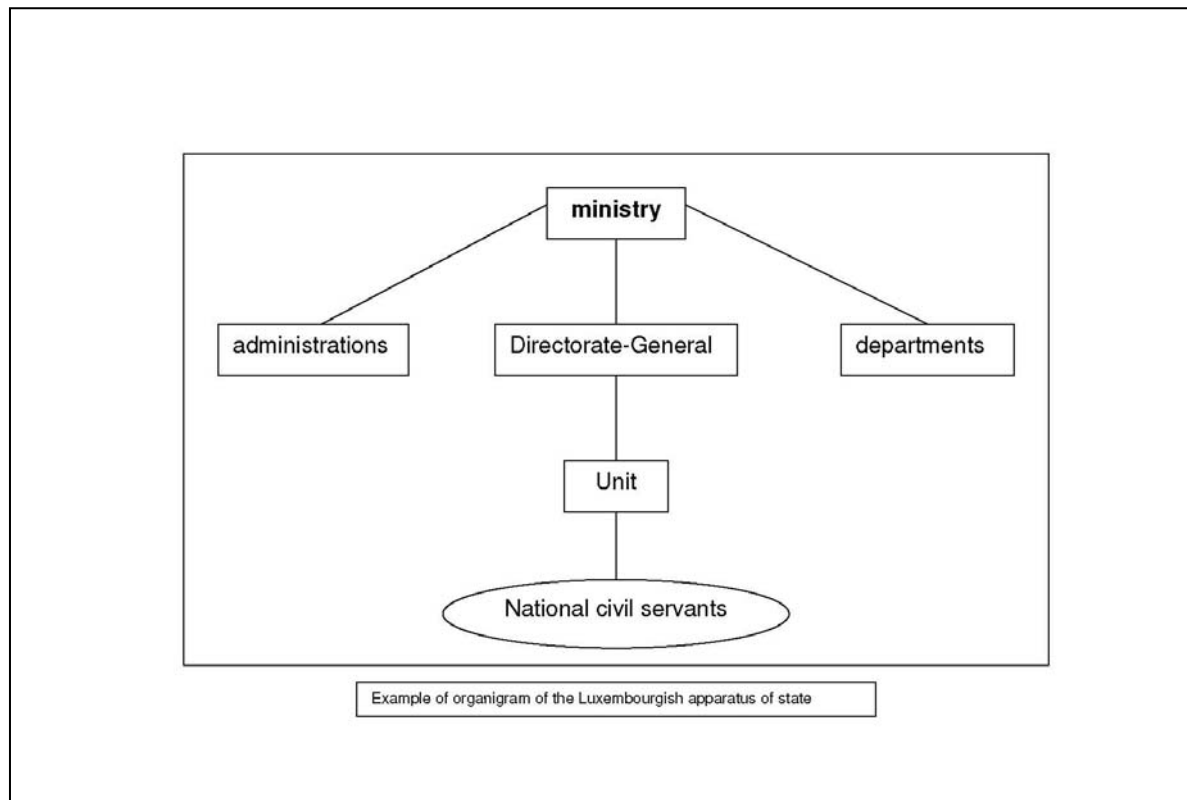
3.2.1.1 Features of the central apparatus of state

Each member state of the European Union performing national coordination of its EU policy is embedded in certain institutional structures at the national level and confronted with specific institutional structures at the European level. As one of the smaller member states of the European Union and the richest country per capita, Luxembourg is only equipped with a relatively small public administration within its central apparatus. Although it is not easy to grasp the exact composition of the Luxembourgish central apparatus because no organizational chart is publicly accessible, this study aims among other things to furnish insights about the organizational composition of the Luxembourgish central apparatus as well as to unveil the inner structure of its administration. This is a necessary step in order to go on to explore how Luxembourg coordinates its EU policy as coordination of EU policy could not be exercised without a certain institutional embeddedness.

The public administration of Luxembourg is composed of several different ministries as well as administrations and departments that are under the ministries' control. In general, the ministries are responsible for their own internal organization. Organizational charts are not publicly accessible for any ministry.²³⁰ However, should one find an organizational chart, he or she would discover that its structure has a functional rather than hierarchical character because there is almost no hierarchy in the Luxembourgish administration and only flat hierarchic structures. An example of an internal organizational chart for a Luxembourgish ministry is illustrated below:

²³⁰ This information is due to an e-mail exchange with a responsible official from the SIP (Service information et presse).

Figure 1 : Sample organizational chart for the Luxembourgish state apparatus



In this so-called simplified type of hierarchy, the basis is formed by national civil servants, which are directly under each unit's control with the head of the unit at the top. The units and heads of units, on the other hand, are under the control of the directorates general, which is directly linked to the ministers. The several departments and administrations are affiliated directly with the ministry and are under its authorities' control. As concerns the coordination of EU policy, there is no extra department that exclusively works with EU affairs. In Luxembourg EU affairs are embedded at each level of the public administrative structure.

3.2.1.2 *Coordination bodies*

3.2.1.2.1 The foreign ministry

Officially, the Luxembourgish foreign ministry is the central contact point for EU affairs for both EU and domestic institutions. For this reason, it plays a mediating role in dealing with the EU and domestic institutions. As the foreign ministry has the responsibility for EU policy affairs, the correspondence between EU and domestic institutions proceeds officially via the foreign ministry. This mainly concerns the coordination of EU policy and the implementation of EU directives as well as the organization of an EU presidency, an IGC, the preparation of the European Council and other tasks that arise. However, the foreign ministry regarding EU affairs is unofficially only an "übergeordneter Briefkasten"²³¹ as it is not literally involved in the coordination of EU policy of each individual ministry but only rarely joins in discussions about a dossier. The ministry has only one leading and coordinating function, which is the work of the CICPE:

"Also das Comité Interministerielle wird vom Aussenministerium koordiniert und präsiert, das ja auch die Verantwortung für die Europapolitik hat. Das heisst das Aussenministerium beruft diese réunion ein, setzt auch die Tagesordnung fest, aber dann kann natürlich jedes Ministerium seine Punkte mit auf die Tagesordnung setzen lassen."²³²

Therefore, the Foreign Ministry has more of an informative than a coordinating role in the CICPE. Regarding the internal division within the ministry of foreign affairs, two different units are responsible for EU affairs: department 1 and 2.²³³ Although these two departments are officially responsible for Luxembourg's coordination of EU policy by dispatching information, only the Permanent Representation has a de facto coordinating function in the Luxembourgish coordination system. In this respect, a separation between national and EU levels is appropriate because the foreign ministry at national level has little involvement in the coordination process except the work of the CICPE, whereas the Permanent Representation is

²³¹ Interview with National Official # 12, 18th of January 2011.

²³² Interview with National Official # 7, 5th of January 2012.

²³³ Department 1 is the political department and is responsible for external affairs, foreign affairs and council foreign affairs, and Department 2 manages issues such as financial framework, EU enlargement, EU commercial foreign policy, sanctions towards third countries.

involved much more heavily in the general coordination. Finally, it functions only as umbrella organization because it only takes the leading role once higher-level political questions arise that require cross-ministerial coordination. This kind of dossier, however, represents the minority. The bulk of the dossiers under the competence of the individual ministries is also handled by national officials from these departments. Due to the limited involvement of the foreign ministry in the coordination process, the two EU departments within the foreign ministry at the national level would need to coordinate between different levels since their internal organization is quite inefficient and unhelpful in the coordination process:

“The ministry of Foreign Affairs has an EU department in Luxembourg. This department could probably be reorganized in a better way in order not only to require information from other governmental services but also to give a useful input to these services. This could provide a very useful coordination tool which is not exploit fully at this stage.”²³⁴

3.2.1.2.2 The Permanent Representation of Luxembourg

The Permanent Representation comes under the direction of Luxembourg’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs and represents the official and first point of contact for EU institutions with the respective member state. The official correspondence proceeds via the Permanent Representation as the EU Council Secretariat sends the proposals of the European Commission to it. It has the task of passing this proposal on to the individual ministry. It is also possible for the EU Council Secretariat to send the proposal directly to the respective expert in some if not all of the ministries. The permanent representative and deputy are both delegates from the foreign ministry and play an important role. The Permanent Representation is a sort of embassy which aims to represent Luxembourg at the European level and to cultivate contacts with EU institutions such as the European Commission. Preparing Council meetings of the foreign ministers and the General Affairs Council and passing on all necessary information to the foreign ministry at the domestic level²³⁵ are the main tasks of the Permanent Representation. As all of the dossiers go through the COREPER, the Permanent Representation has a control and monitoring function. It is able to survey all dossiers from a horizontal perspective and thus is responsible for identifying potential areas of conflict in each dossier very quickly. Therefore, the Permanent Representation can perform cross-ministerial

²³⁴ Interview with National Official # 10, 9th of November 2011.

²³⁵ This transfer of information takes place in the form of a briefing.

coordination by initiating a CICPE-meeting. It takes the leading role once difficulties are identified. This relates in particular to political and overarching questions.

COREPER I and II

As mentioned earlier, both COREPERs are led by delegates from the Luxembourg's Foreign Ministry, who represent the Luxembourgish position at EU level. COREPER I is in charge of all day-to-day policy areas and its national officials represent Luxembourg mainly in the Working Groups, whereas COREPER II has a more diplomatic focus, representing the policy areas of Justice and Home Affairs as well as Finance. While it does not matter for national officials working in COREPER I whether they are situated at the European or national level in order to represent their ministry, there is, however, a difference between national officials working at both levels in COREPER II because national officials working in COREPER II are not technical experts but experts in European negotiations. As COREPER II dossiers generally develop from technical to political questions as negotiation process, the main responsibility lies initially with the technical experts and then moves towards the European level the more political the questions become. The workforce in the Permanent Representation has been considerably increased in the last 50 years and more and more policy areas have posted a representative in Brussels. Nevertheless, not all policy areas have their representative in Brussels yet. Luxembourg's geographical situation does not require national officials to be employed permanently in Brussels as they can commute easily between Brussels and Luxembourg and regularly attend the Council Working Groups. As a rule, Luxembourg's public administration provides one national official who represents a whole policy area in COREPER I instead of providing double or multiple staffing. National officials in COREPER I are free to decide how they wish to coordinate their dossiers. Other stakeholders come into play if problems arise or questions become more political, such as at the Foreign Ministry in the form of the Permanent Representative himself or his deputy. Whether or not national officials working permanently in Brussels wish to collaborate with colleagues from their domestic ministry varies according to the policy area as each ministry is free to decide how it organizes its internal structure and hierarchy.²³⁶

²³⁶ This information is based on e-mail exchange with a responsible official from the SIP (Service information et presse).

To sum up, responsibility for coordinating a dossier in COREPER II is assigned according to the respective policy area and person only in a later stage namely if European negotiations are involved and the technical analysis has already been effected. This also implies the negotiations of compromises. The technical analysis in COREPER I on the other hand is carried out at the working group level.

3.2.1.2.3 CICPE – Comité Interministerielle de Coordination de la Politique Européenne

The interdepartmental committee was formed in 2005 and is composed of a representative from each ministry and the representatives of the Permanent Representation of Luxembourg. The meetings are organized by the foreign ministry at the national level. However, meetings can also be initiated by the Permanent Representation in Brussels. The CICPE convenes twice a year unless there are important issues to discuss. In that case information is sent via a mailing list to all members of the committee. The CICPE is a quasi-horizontal coordination center which represents a meeting point to exchange ideas. Meetings are an occasion to focus on horizontal dossiers and to come to an agreement as well as to express specific interests regarding a dossier on the part of the respective ministries. Should several ministries have problems with a specific dossier, the CICPE meeting offers the chance to agree on which position will be represented in Brussels. The committee is the only interdepartmental body in the Luxembourgish central apparatus, to take charge of intersectoral collaboration. In addition to discussions about European questions or problems in European dossiers two of the most important topics during a meeting are the European Council and the implementation of directives. The discussions within the CICPE are consensus-oriented especially when higher-level interests are at stake. If the issue is of interest to a specific ministry, that ministry decides how to proceed.

The so-called ad hoc groups are topic-specific working groups that are in close contact with the national council of ministers. This contact exists predominantly to allow an exchange of information. If ministers do not agree on a dossier, the discussion is placed at a higher level in hierarchy. In doing so, the dossier leaves the working group level and lands on the desk of the Luxembourgish governing council where all ministers are present. The function of the governing council mainly consists in a legitimating function as crucial dossiers are discussed in this body. The way decisions are made in this legislative body is formalized through voting.

3.2.1.2.4 The national parliament

The Lisbon Treaty, which was adopted in 2009, introduced a new legislative tool for national parliaments enabling them to scrutinize European law. The so called yellow card scheme increased the relevance of national parliaments of the European Union by giving them the possibility to issue Reasoned Opinions in case they consider that a new legislative proposal breaches the principle of subsidiarity. Consequently, this new situation changed the national coordination of EU policy because the national parliaments of the EU member states have to now be actively involved in the coordination procedures at the EU level.

In the Luxembourg's case, the same pattern can be found as for the general coordination procedures: policy coordination varies between policy areas. One possibility of informing the national Parliament is to transfer all new Commission proposals to the responsible unit of the Luxembourgish Parliament. For this reason, the national Parliament can discuss new proposals and verify whether proposals obey the principle of subsidiarity and proportionality. If the Parliament does not agree, it has the possibility to submit a written objection within a specific time frame. The important point here is that the Parliament is informed in time.²³⁷

Another, more personal and more direct way of involving the parliament in EU policy coordination involves the minister regularly attending the respective committee meetings of the Parliament (e.g. Transport, Finance, etc.), in which he or she presents current EU dossiers and their related questions. Subsequently, the committee will hold a discussion on the presented topics. The national parliament is thus kept informed about the current issues discussed in the Council of Ministers and the respective minister can accept notes from the Parliament. Ministers' attendance increases in the run-up to an EU Council meeting.²³⁸

These two ways of proceeding are only examples of how the national parliament is involved in Luxembourgish coordination procedures of EU policy. However, it can be assumed that this type of coordination tends to take place at the national level, i.e. the respective sectoral ministries in Luxembourg establish the collaboration with the parliament instead of the Luxembourgish Permanent Representation.

3.2.1.3 The coordination process

²³⁷ cf. Interview with National Official # 3, 25th of November 2011.

²³⁸ cf. Interview with National Official # 8, 8th of December 2011.

3.2.1.3.1 Working routine

Once the Commission has published a proposal, it is verified which ministry is responsible for this dossier and whether more than one ministry is involved. Should several ministries be involved the respective ministries have to be informed immediately. After clarifying issues of competence, the leading ministry is primarily responsible for the dossier. It identifies the responsible national official and transfers the dossier to either the Permanent Representation or the respective ministry in Luxembourg. As soon as it reaches the national official, a selection procedure starts focusing only on those issues relevant for Luxembourg. This way of proceeding has its roots in the fact that the Luxembourgish civil service has a chronic shortage of personnel. In a next step the analysis is undertaken followed by an initial preparation of Luxembourg's position. In general, this part of the procedure takes place in the working groups of each policy area at EU level. The responsible national civil servant regularly attends each meeting in which the basic texts are prepared. Depending on each policy area, the national official makes an informal approach to a colleague in Luxembourg or Brussels prior to the technical analysis in order to get help from him or her in processing the dossier. Similarly, contact with colleagues from other member states plays an important role at the working group level as it can pave the way for building a possible coalition. This coalition-building already takes place at the technical level, i.e. in the working group. Particularly important is the preparation of a COREPER meeting, which aims primarily to determine Luxembourg's position concerning specific issues and the interests it is to pursue. Moreover, it is possible that external stakeholders are consulted, such as professional associations:

„Manchmal kontaktiere ich, manchmal werde ich kontaktiert. Das läuft relativ informell ab. Also es gibt aber immer Gedankenaustausch. Es ist ja nicht so, dass man im stillen Kämmerlein sitzt und dann nach Brüssel reist, sondern man tauscht sich im Vorfeld mal aus. Ich läute dann mal bei den betroffenen stakeholders an um mich zu erkundigen, was ihre Meinung dazu ist oder es kann auch sein, dass sie spontan auf mich zukommen. Man sieht sich ja auch in Luxemburg. Dann spricht man mal am Rande einer Sitzung über ein Dossier. Und dann bekomme ich ja auch noch ein Schreiben von den professional associations. Die Finanzaufsicht geht ja auch mit zu den Sitzungen nach Brüssel. Die bereiten gewöhnlich die Kommentare vor und ich überarbeite sie. Also es ist ein Zusammenspiel von public authorities und private stakeholders.“²³⁹

²³⁹ Interview with National Official # 11, 12th of December 2011.

In the finance sector, the Financial Services Authority even attends meetings in Brussels and prepares the comments although this usually has to be undertaken by the respective national civil servant. The contact between the individual stakeholders aims mainly to find out which interests Luxembourg pursues. In the ministry itself, it is vital to bring all participants into line. In doing so, the correspondence proceeds along two lines, i.e. officially and unofficially.

In a further step, Luxembourg has to decide whether to follow the broad consensus or not. On that account it has to confer with the Permanent Representations of the other member states. Due to its size and voting weight, Luxembourg often draws on the help of France and Germany as well as Austria because it has a historical, cultural, political and linguistic proximity to these countries. The analysis of the Commissions' proposal is followed by the formulation of the position, which however is only possible once a consensus has been established at the political level. In general, there is a tendency to proceed from technical questions to political questions. This especially concerns the preparation work of COREPER II, where one is most likely to find a clear separation between the national (expert) and European (diplomat) levels. The political level thus verifies whether the topic of the dossier is politically relevant for Luxembourg and how it can push through its individual interests. This political filter only begins after the technical analysis.

In the course of its membership, the staff situation has changed for Luxembourg. Based on the fact that the work at EU level has grown continuously, additional national officials have had to be employed so that currently almost each policy area has its own representative in the Permanent Representation:

“Ich bin überzeugt, dass sich unsere Arbeitsabläufe geändert haben. Wir haben mehr Mitarbeiter, es ist arbeitsintensiver, man muss auf Dossiers von Brüssel rasch reagieren. Die Zeit um eine Richtlinie in nationales Recht umzusetzen wurde gekürzt. Also es gibt schon sehr viele Veränderungen.”²⁴⁰

As Luxembourg does not lay down any fixed hierarchical procedures each policy area decides autonomously whether and when reports and minutes are to be produced after a council meeting.²⁴¹ If a document is produced it can be a preparation for a meeting or contain a

²⁴⁰ Ibid.

²⁴¹ cf. Panke, Diana. “Good Instructions in No Time? Domestic Coordination of EU Policies in 19 Small States.” *West European Politics* 33, no. 4 (2010): 770–790; Panke, Diana. *Small States in the European Union Coping with Structural Disadvantages*. Farnham, Surrey, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010.

summary of a meeting. These documents can be published on the intranet in order to be accessible to all.

The working routine presented in this chapter is not representative of all ministries and policy areas in Luxembourg but rather serves as an example of how coordination can take place. It is clear that the working routine within the national coordination of EU policy varies hugely and depends on the internal organization and hierarchical structure of each ministry.

3.2.1.3.2 Where does coordination take place?

Luxembourg represents a special case as regards where coordination takes place at the national or European level, as both levels heavily intermeshed to the extent that the classic separation between national coordination of the national and European level cannot be maintained. On the contrary, the national coordination of EU policy takes place at both levels simultaneously:

“Es gibt keine europäische Koordinierung und nationale Koordinierung. Es ist die gleiche Koordinierung, weil es keinen Unterschied gibt. Sie können keinen Unterschied machen so wie es in anderen Ländern, wo die Arbeitsgruppen nur durch die Leute abgedeckt werden, die in der PermRep arbeiten. [...] In Luxemburg haben wir diese Aufteilung so nicht, weil wir viele Rats-Arbeitsgruppen durch Personal abdecken, das von Luxemburg aus tätig ist, die also einmal die Woche nach Brüssel fahren. Es gibt da viele Kollegen, die einmal oder zumindestens alle zwei Wochen nach Brüssel fahren. Manchmal ist das nur Arbeitsaufteilung. Der Kollege der in der RP arbeitet geht in eine Arbeitsgruppe und die Woche darauf gehe ich in einen Arbeitsgruppe. Ich bin aber in Luxemburg.”²⁴²

It tends to be the national officials who are central in the coordination process because they represent the respective ministry and policy area. They act as mediators because the domestic ministry is in touch with the Permanent Representation through them. However, this only concerns those national officials working permanently in the Permanent Representation.

²⁴² Interview with National Official # 3, 25th of November 2011.

Depending on the following factors, a decision can be made as to where coordination takes place:

- a) Directive
- b) Topic
- c) Ministry

Should a directive, topic or ministry's internal organization focus or require coordinating on a certain level, it will take place at this level. Consequently, a generalization is not possible as each ministry makes its own decisions on organizing its coordination of EU dossiers. The role a ministry plays during the coordination also depends on the topic and relevance of a dossier as well as whether a topic comes under the competence of the respective ministry. Preparation work frequently takes place in Luxembourg as not all policy areas have a representative in the Permanent Representation and thus the majority of national officials who are involved in the coordination of EU policy work in the domestic ministries at the national level.²⁴³ Furthermore, some ministries have coordination offices, which are responsible for both coordinating national as well as European issues. They are represented by the directorates general (see chart in chapter 1). Essentially, the decision as to where the bulk of coordination takes place depends on whether the ministry has a representative in Brussels or not. Should a dossier be transferred from the Permanent Representation to a national official at the national level, the preparatory work will take place at the national level and/or in collaboration with the Permanent Representation. If a national official working permanently in the Permanent Representation is responsible for a dossier, the preliminary work will take place in the Permanent Representation. However, these national civil servants need to confer with their superiors in the respective ministry. In the end it varies according to policy area and ministry as to which procedure is applied in order to inform the ministry.

²⁴³ One example in this context is the EU commercial foreign policy of Luxembourg which is exclusively coordinated at the national level because there is no representative working in Brussels

3.2.1.3.3 Duties of a national official

The duties of national officials coordinating EU policy are multifaceted. They have a “double role”²⁴⁴ because on the one hand they need to be present and on the other they are responsible for the coordination of the dossiers. The analysis of Commission proposals is problem-oriented by trying to identify possible problems for their own and other ministries, and alongside the selection of topics relevant for Luxembourg, is one of a national official’s most important tasks. Depending on the professional background of national officials, they collaborate with technical experts, who, in general, develop an initial proposal for Luxembourg’s position because they are only responsible for the technical analysis. Another important task consists in staying on top of things in order to be up to date about the development in each field of activity and the rumors in the corridors. Being informed before information is announced officially offers the possibility to anticipate developments. Moreover, national civil servants are also required to keep track of trends in each policy area. As well as handling and implementing dossiers Luxembourgish national officials are expected to attend each meeting of the working group. National civil servants negotiate their dossiers in these working groups and endeavor to come to a compromise. In general, the handling of a dossier takes several months and national officials are free to decide whether to produce a document of their work as there is no uniform regulation that stipulates a specific procedure. A lot of ministries expect their civil servants to write reports²⁴⁵ on talking points or suggestions. In general, this type of report contains a description of the ongoing discussion, issues that will be discussed and an indication of the position of Luxembourg on those issues as well as the position of the respective member state. When writing the report, it varies from ministry to ministry as to whether or not civil servants confer with their superiors. For those national officials working at the EU level lobbying is prevalent among their duties. By ensuring that coordination with regards to contents has taken place and the information has been passed on, their main function is that of mediator between EU institutions and their domestic ministry as well as the head of the ministry of foreign affairs. The field of action of a national official can also include consulting of the representative in the COREPER.

²⁴⁴ Interview with National Official # 6, 30th of November 2011.

²⁴⁵ In French: “une note”.

3.2.1.4 *The EU level*

3.2.1.4.1 The coordination of an EU presidency and Intergovernmental Conferences

Due to Luxembourg's administrative structures, the coordination of an EU presidency is characterized by reliance on the support of the EU institutions such as the EU Council Secretariat. Luxembourg makes use of these EU structures during its EU presidencies because its chronic shortage of personnel could never deal with the bulk of organizational work that a presidency requires. The Luxembourgish presidencies in the past have all been Brussels-based, with the Foreign Ministry in a leading position. However, Luxembourg undertakes further measures in order to manage work during a presidency, such as including other member states or partner member states in its presidency.²⁴⁶ As regards the organizational and logistical aspects of a presidency, these are managed from the Foreign Ministry at the domestic level. The Lisbon treaty however had major consequences for Luxembourg and its work during a presidency. One of the major changes is the fact that new president Herman Van Rompuy now presides over the presidencies so that Luxembourg is restricted in its selection of topics. This means that the Luxembourgish presidency has less power and is thus less visible in the media:

„Der neue Vertrag hat grosse Veränderungen mit sich gebracht. Es gibt jetzt einen ständigen Präsidenten des Europäischen Rates d.h. der Premierminister und Ministerpräsident des Landes, welches die Präsidentschaft hat, präsidiert nicht mehr den Europäischen Rat. Das ist ein wesentliches Element. Hinzu kommt im Bereich Außenpolitik, dadurch dass wir jetzt Frau Ashton haben, dass der Außenminister den außenpolitischen Rat auch nicht mehr präsidiert. Was wegbricht ist die Möglichkeit des Ministerpräsidenten vom Präsidentschaftsland auf die Minister einzuwirken, die die Räte präsidiieren, wie zum Beispiel der Umweltrat, der Transportrat und der Landwirtschaftsrat. Das war immer ein wichtiges Instrumentarium in einer Präsidentschaft. [...] Und somit ist auch die Präsidentschaft nicht unbedingt mehr, eigentlich überhaupt nicht mehr Meister über die Themen, die thematisiert werden vom Europäischen Rat. Sonst konnte ja die Präsidentschaft selber festlegen was diskutiert wird und das musste sich einreihen in das Programm der Präsidentschaft. Das ist jetzt nicht mehr der Fall. Auch die klassischen Bereiche mit denen man sich als Präsidentschaft verkaufen konnte, die sind jetzt nicht mehr da. Das waren eigentlich immer die Außenpolitik oder die Themen, die im Europäischen Rat behandelt wurden. Auch für das Bild der Präsidentschaft in der

²⁴⁶ In general this refers to Belgium and the Netherlands, two countries that are close partners for Luxembourg in the EU and which normally manage those topics during a presidency for Luxembourg that are not relevant for Luxembourg as for example fisheries.

Presse waren sie sehr wichtig, weil sie erkennbar waren und das ist jetzt nicht mehr der Fall.“²⁴⁷

From the perspective of Luxembourg, the new model Council presidency introduced by the Lisbon Treaty is rather disadvantageous for Luxembourg. This is because the Council president is not represented by the Luxembourgish Prime minister or minister president. The same is valid for Foreign policy issues. The main disadvantage for the Luxembourgish EU presidency results from the fact that the prime minister who has presided earlier the presidency, cannot have influence on the ministers of each policy area as now there is a non-Luxembourgish president who might not know the Luxembourgish particularities and thus can have less influence on each minister. A further disadvantage of the new model represents the topics. In the old model, each presidency could determine their topics and prioritize. Now, as the president is not from Luxembourg, he chooses the topics and thus Luxembourg is less autonomous and loose influence during the presidency.

Organizing Intergovernmental Conferences at both levels does not differ essentially from the daily coordination work. Ministers play a leading role in the coordination process in the same way as national officials who can work mostly autonomous and organizes meetings with ministers if necessary. As Intergovernmental Conferences take place at EU level, it is the responsibility of the Foreign Ministry at EU level and thus plays an important role in the coordination process.

²⁴⁷ Interview with National Official # 1, 11th of November 2011.

3.2.1.4.2 Luxembourg's relationship with the EU institutions

Luxembourg cultivates contacts with the EU institutions not only for political reasons but also out of pragmatic and organizational considerations as the chronic shortage of personnel in the Luxembourgish Permanent Representation does not allow a small member state to organize everything autonomously. Hence, the relevant EU institutions are especially the EU Council Secretariat which greatly helps Luxembourg by handling the work at the EU level. The EU institutions thus play an important role for national officials in or from Luxembourg during the coordination process.

3.2.1.5 The efficiency of the Luxembourgish national coordination of EU policy – self-perceptions of Luxembourgish national civil servants

How do Luxembourgish national officials perceive their coordination of EU policy? The Luxembourgish coordination system reveals some deficiencies, which can also be beneficial for the coordination system. The biggest problem for Luxembourgish national officials concerning the coordination is its chronic shortage of personnel. It compels national officials to select issues from within the wide range of EU issues.²⁴⁸ For financial reasons, it would make no sense to employ more staff. On the other hand, the lack of personnel can be beneficial for the national coordination of EU policy as the small system and team of national civil servants makes everything clearer and more pragmatic. The small network of national officials makes it possible to be in touch personally, which is crucial at all political levels in Luxembourg as it facilitates access to important information. In large systems, by contrast, a huge numbers of national civil servants and procedures can lead to confusion and can impede the coordination process. Coordination in Luxembourg, however, is very quick as the communication and collaboration takes place via e-mail, telephone or personal meetings. The close collaboration and exchange enable the coordination process to function well:

„Mir scheint es, dass es gut funktioniert, das Zusammenspiel. Ich würde meinen, dass die Art und Weise wie wir die Dossiers hier in Luxemburg handhaben auch förderlich für die

²⁴⁸ Specifically, as a rule one national civil servant covers a whole policy area whereas in other member states one official covers one dossier.

Koordination unserer Position in Brüssel ist, weil wir eben eng zusammenarbeiten und uns austauschen.“²⁴⁹

The accessibility of individual national officials and even ministers makes the Luxembourgish coordination system efficient because the informal way of working allows very swift decision-making. Due to the absence of centralizing structures, the Luxembourgish coordination system is characterized by a high degree of flexibility, which greatly facilitates coordination. A centralized procedure would be out of the question for the Luxembourgish system as it is precisely the flexibility and informality that emphasize the strength and guarantee the efficiency of the Luxembourgish coordination system:

„Was sind die Probleme? Wie gehen wir da ran? Wie machen wir das? Aber das steht nirgends, dass die Koordinierung so zustande kommen soll. Warum soll das auch irgendwo stehen? Das wäre ja dann auch ein System, das vielleicht nicht so umsetzbar ist. In Luxemburg schon gar nicht. Das heißt, ich sage nicht, dass bei uns alles informell koordiniert wird, aber diese Freiheit muss man schon lassen, weil kein Dossier dasselbe ist. Man arbeitet halt mit sehr wenigen Leuten zusammen. Ich meine, der luxemburger Staat ist ja wirklich ein Mini-Betrieb, wo man halt eine gewisse Flexibilität braucht, was man sich aber in anderen Ländern vielleicht nicht vorstellen kann. In Luxemburg ist es ganz einfach, weil der Vertreter in Brüssel das Telefon nehmen kann und Minister X anruft um über ein Dossier zu sprechen. Das ist sehr wichtig für die Koordinierung der Europapolitik. Aber das steht nirgends. Das sind dann vielleicht ganz oft eher informelle Arten und Weisen wie man in Luxemburg arbeitet, die sehr wichtig sind, aber das steht nirgends.“²⁵⁰

As Luxembourgish national officials need to cover a lot of areas at the same time, they have a good overview. Furthermore, the coordination of EU policy is also of utmost importance in a small member state with such a small central government like Luxembourg's. On the one hand, the national coordination of EU policy is the basic requirement for a strong positioning in order to react coherently to the outside world. On the other hand, it is important for cross-ministerial coordination to take place in order to assure that the competent ministry is responsible for the dossier so that the dossier can be implemented without difficulties at the end of the coordination process.

²⁴⁹ Interview with National Official # 11, 12th of December 2011.

²⁵⁰ Interview with National Official # 7, 5th of January 2012.

As regards the time invested by Luxembourg in the national coordination of EU policy, this varies according to the policy area and is dependent on the field of duties of each national official. In general, it is estimated that Luxembourgish national officials invest a lot of time in order to coordinate EU policy.²⁵¹

To sum up, the Luxembourgish coordination system is perceived by its national civil servants to be very effective because its informal procedures enable flexibility and the short paths favor quick decisions. Certainly, the efficiency and flexibility of the Luxembourgish coordination system is one factor that emphasizes Luxembourg's strength in negotiations at the EU level. Another factor is surely the longstanding experience as a member state in the European Union and with EU institutions.

3.2.1.5.1 Goals of coordination

The coordination of EU policy is especially important for a small country since small countries, due to their low voting weight, are required to act strategically in order to find allies. One of the goals therefore that Luxembourg pursues with its coordination of EU policy is coalition-building at the European level. Coalitions are essential for small member states like Luxembourg as they can help them to exert influence. In addition, Luxembourg intends to create coherence by coordinating its EU policy. In order to coordinate efficiently, it is therefore essential to be up to date in order to protect, guarantee and secure its own interests. In this respect it is crucial that national officials receive information in time in order to be able to position Luxembourg regarding specific topics. It is also important that cross-ministerial coordination takes place in time. Since it is indispensable for the negotiations at the EU level to define and represent its own position, national officials must be present at the EU level in order to anticipate incoming commitments. This requires great sensitivity at early stages of negotiation, a necessity that has become inevitable and has led to the fact that the Permanent Representation has experienced a significant expansion of its technical staff in recent decades.

²⁵¹ cf. Interview with National Official # 1, 11th of November 2011.

3.2.1.5.2 Difficulties and challenges during the coordination

Although Luxembourgish coordination is very efficient, it presents national civil servants with challenges and difficulties. The informal coordination system does indeed have some positive consequences for coordination efficiency, though it also brings some obstacles. As the public administration of Luxembourg has no formal central department in charge of the national coordination of EU policy, it is very difficult for national civil servants to stay on top of things, especially due to the lack of personnel they cannot be present everywhere in order to cultivate their contacts. The same is valid for the presence of each national official in the Council Working Groups. The high number of working groups and the fact that several national officials do not work permanently in Brussels mean that not all national officials can attend the Council Working Group meetings. Some officials experience such a high workload that it is difficult for them to continue to cultivate contacts with colleagues from other member states.²⁵² Thus one of the major challenges facing the Luxembourgish coordination of EU policy is how to handle the flow of information in order to stay on top of things. Moreover, national officials are not always able to analyze dossiers with the necessary precision but need to work superficially due to the high number of dossiers to be analyzed.

Another part of the coordination work in COREPER involves understanding the position of the other twenty-six member states and orienting itself towards these positions. In the course of EU enlargements and accumulation of members, it has become more and more difficult for Luxembourg to push its position through. That is why Luxembourg always attempts to adapt its position to those of the other member states to be more in harmony with the other positions:

„Je größer die EU wird desto schwieriger für alle nachzugeben, desto diverser die Interessen. Aber wir können halt nicht weiter, weil es immer schwieriger wird die gemeinsamen Interessen zu identifizieren um im Interesse der Gemeinschaft seine eigenen Interessen aufzugeben.“²⁵³

The amount of work and the number of national civil servants who are available to the public administrations in order to cope with it are disproportionate to each other, i.e. the amount of

²⁵² cf. Interview with National Official # 10, 9th of November 2011.

²⁵³ Interview with National Official # 1, 11th of November 2011.

work is essentially higher than could be managed by civil servants. This also relates to the procedures imposed by the European Commission. Those procedures steadily complicate the coordination for Luxembourg as it is short-staffed. This refers most notably to the implementation of directives. In some policy areas, over-regulation can even be detected, which hits small countries hard. The innovations introduced by the Lisbon Treaty have created a challenge for Luxembourg regarding the coordination of EU policy.

One of the organizational challenges for Luxembourg regarding the national coordination of EU policy is the implementation of EU directives. The main problem here is firstly that many of the EU regulations that Luxembourg has to implement do not concern the country at all. Secondly, the lack of staff in Luxembourg requires a clear definition of who does what. So far, the organizational division of work has functioned less well as Luxembourg is often associated with implementation by default. Department 2 within the Foreign Ministry at the national level is officially responsible for the implementation of EU directives. The high labor costs, however, prohibit the creation of a separate department to deal with the implementation.²⁵⁴

3.2.1.5.3 Conflict resolution mechanisms

Even though it seems that the national coordination of EU policy in Luxembourg is a trouble-free process, discrepancies sometimes emerge between different policy areas. If a conflict occurs, the responsible national official tries first of all to resolve conflicting interests between two or more ministries informally. This type of dispute settlement signifies for Luxembourg that the national official needs to confer with the minister and/or with the head of unit. Depending on the dossier and policy area, the consultation can be carried out by the Permanent Representative or his deputy. The question of who is contacted when and how depends on the general procedure of the respective ministry and the topic as well as conflict. In some policy areas, the minister is only contacted with higher-level problems. In addition, conflicts vary according to each dossier. However, Luxembourg has some policy areas in which a conflict has rarely occurred due to its consensual tradition. Hence the first step once political discrepancies between different ministries emerge is firstly to try to find an

²⁵⁴ cf. Interview with National Official # 6, 30th of November 2011.

agreement by coming to a compromise. In order to do so, the respective ministers, for example, will meet personally. If it is not possible to find a consensus, a meeting with the minister will take place in order to elaborate a position formally, which then passes before the governing council. The formal way of resolving conflicts in Luxembourg does not always apply at the level of national civil servants but rather at the minister's level. In this respect, the governing council is the institution that handles the conflict by receiving the elaborated position and reaching a decision. This is done through a voting procedure.

3.2.1.6 Europeanization tendencies in the public administration of Luxembourg

There is a huge amount of studies that examine the impact of Europeanization on national structures and administrations. Especially regarding the analysis of national coordination of EU policy the Europeanization topic becomes more relevant because the way a member state handles its coordination indicates at the same time the extent to which it has adapted institutionally to the European level. According to the definitions indicated in the introduction of this thesis, Europeanization can generally be understood as a “process of domestic adaptation to the impact of the EU within member states”²⁵⁵. In terms of national coordination processes of EU policy, the domestic adaptation is to be understood to occur at both levels European and national.

In the case of Luxembourg, a highly variable picture is emerging. National officials reported that the presence of EU issues on the agenda is varying from policy to policy area. As national officials in Luxembourg are involved in EU affairs from the beginning of their career, “EU affairs are very much involved in the way things are done at the national level”²⁵⁶. According to their observations, all policy areas have become European in Luxembourg.²⁵⁷

Further tendencies of Europeanization effects for Luxembourg consist in national officials' observation that the European Commission seems to want more and more rights by requiring from member states to implement organizational structures at the domestic level that are

²⁵⁵ Ladrech, Robert. *Europeanization and National Politics*. Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010: p. 1.

²⁵⁶ Interview with National Official #10, 9th of November 2011.

²⁵⁷ Interview with National Official #5, 12th of November 2011.

similar with the Commission structures²⁵⁸. This would lead to an institutional adaptation and reflects the fact that the Commission may have some influence on national procedures. Currently, there are more structural differences between the Luxembourgish administration and the EU administration since Luxembourg's ministries, for example, have competencies which are not shared by the individual DGs at the European level. Although the Commission's structure resembles the structure of a Luxembourgish ministry, the competencies inherent to both structures are extremely different. In addition, the interests of the two administrative bodies are also very different. The fact that the Luxembourgish public administration is not organized in the same way as the Commission necessitates the coordination of EU policies.

Moreover, the administration of the ministries in each member state is organized in very different ways, so that adaptation to European institutions like the European Commission is rather difficult. On the other hand, reforms at the European level lead to changes in the structures of Luxembourg's administrations, such as the technical departments. This concerns also changes in the tasks. Should these change, the structures within the Luxembourgish administrations need to be adjusted or replaced. Thus, individual adjustments towards EU institutions like the European Commission can occur for organizational reasons.

Luxembourg's interest in EU membership consists mainly in the fact that Luxembourg needs the European Union. The flipside of the coin is that EU membership also means making compromises and being restricted because of the need to respect the state's obligations under EU law. A membership in the EU today has become especially a struggle for survival for small countries as the big member states dominate the group of 28:

„Being part of the EU involves a lot of duties and a lot of responsibilities and a lot of I would say compromises. You need to accept when your position is not taken into account.“²⁵⁹

According to the interviewee, this situation has intensified since the EU enlargement, which meant an extreme loss of influence for Luxembourg. The European Commission and the Council presidency preferably work only with the big member states together because decisions are made faster. As a result, Luxembourg loses influence.

²⁵⁸ Interview with National Official # 10, 9th of November 2011.

²⁵⁹ Ibid.

The importance of EU policy for Luxembourg stems from the fact that the EU gives Luxembourg the opportunity to be involved, to participate and to be listened to by others. As a pro-European partner, Luxembourg is not only fighting for its national interests but also for the European idea. Luxembourg's focus is on the application of the community method. Its interest in EU membership is primarily based on the EU internal market and the monetary union. Other European projects such as the CAP signify more of a financial loss to Luxembourg's business but are accepted because Luxembourg needs the EU internal market. Moreover, decision procedures at the EU level are oriented towards political power relationships.

Although the EU determines daily business, it does not interfere in the national coordination of EU policy of the member states. The increase in reporting obligations and of Commission controls as regards implementation does, however, cause suspicion among Luxembourgish national officials. In addition, proposals from the Commission such as the standardization of procedures in order to facilitate their control procedures attract negative responses in Luxembourg. Furthermore, in the course of the EU enlargement a transfer of competences to the EU tends to be perceived as a loss of sovereignty by national civil servants. However, EU legislation forces the member states to abandon national sovereignty. In contrast, there is an aim for more integration. It is therefore necessary for the EU to be more involved in national policies in order to assure its good functioning:

„The EU has not been sufficiently involved into national policies and that has led to these problems we have today in the EU arena. There should be synergies between EU and national level.“²⁶⁰

²⁶⁰ Ibid.

3.2.2 Summary

Analyzing the domestic coordination of EU policy in Luxembourg, the coordination system and process at work reveals specific characteristics. Being embedded in administrative structures of the central apparatus that are characterized by functionality and non-hierarchical proceedings, the main feature of the Luxembourgish coordination system can be defined using the term “informality”. Both the coordination system and the coordination process are determined by high-level informal procedures. As the administrative system is marked by a small size and a simple type of hierarchy, informal procedures are the most efficient approaches at the administrative level. Compared to the procedures at EU level, i.e. in the EU institutions, there are differences because procedures at EU level are much more formal than in Luxembourg.

Although the Luxembourgish coordination system lacks centralizing structures or official coordination instruments, there are a few coordination bodies that have their place within the system. The foreign ministry, being officially “the” coordination body in the Luxembourgish system, has unofficially more of a mailbox than a leading function because each ministry is relatively autonomous in terms of coordinating its EU policy. Furthermore, it is important to distinguish between the foreign ministry represented at EU level and at domestic level. National officials working in the Permanent Representation of Luxembourg in Brussels are more heavily involved in the coordination process than officials at domestic level because they are on site and need to be attentive regarding cross-ministerial coordination. According to Kassim’s classification, which distinguishes between centralized and decentralized systems, Luxembourg can be categorized among the decentralized systems because of the dominance of informal procedures and the absence of formal structures.²⁶¹ Moreover, the role played by Prime Minister Juncker has been prominent for Luxembourg as he has played a central role on EU issues and represents a driving force in the European integration process.

Looking at the key stakeholders in the coordination process, the duties of national officials are multi-faceted, as they play a “double” role in the process. Jeffrey Lewis uses the term “Janus face” to describe the phenomenon, which signifies “having dual personalities, performing multiple roles, wearing different hats”²⁶² because national civil servants have to defend both

²⁶¹ Cf. Kassim et al., Hussein. *The National Co-Ordination of EU Policy: The European Level*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001; Kassim, Hussein, Guy Peters, and Vincent Wright. *The National Co-Ordination of EU Policy: The Domestic Level*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

²⁶² Lewis, Jeffrey. “The Janus Face of Brussels: Socialization and Everyday Decision Making in the European

national interests at EU level and European interests at national level. As each ministry individually decides on how to proceed on each dossier, coordination is selective and individual, focusing only on those issues relevant for Luxembourg. The manner in which Commission proposals are analyzed is problem-oriented. Although national officials enjoy considerable freedom in handling their dossiers, those of high importance are likely to confer with their superiors instead of acting autonomously. As ministers in Luxembourg are easily accessible, this and the informal way of working allow very quick decision-making procedures.

There is clear evidence that EU membership has posed new challenges for Luxembourg and its administrative structures and procedures. However, as one of the founding member states it has now extensive experience regarding procedures at both levels and with other EU member states. Over time and with regard to the ongoing European integration, it appears to have developed an efficient coordination system of EU policy.²⁶³ Conducting a broad quantitative country study analyzing 18 small EU member states regarding the effectiveness of their domestic coordination practices, Panke found that “the high autonomy of the lead ministry will bring about swift coordination and good instructions”²⁶⁴ and thus attributed to Luxembourg one of the most efficient coordination systems among smaller EU member states:

“Lead ministries that are highly autonomous and put a strong emphasis on EU-related work, such as in Luxembourg and Ireland, are relatively fast in producing high quality positions. (...) Some countries, such as Luxembourg or Ireland, are very close to an ideal point in all three dimensions and often produce high quality positions in a timely manner.”²⁶⁵

Based on the measurement of three different dimensions²⁶⁶ that Panke determined as being important for the creation of quick and high quality instructions, she concluded that a high level of each dimension would represent an efficient coordination system of EU policy in the respective country. However, Luxembourg and Ireland seem to have things in common, and not only in this respect. The Irish coordination system of EU policy is very similar to the Luxembourgish one. Characteristics such as a tradition of consensus, high departmental

Union.” *International Organization* 59, no. 4 (2005): 940.

²⁶³ Cf. Panke, Diana. “Good Instructions in No Time? Domestic Coordination of EU Policies in 19 Small States.” *West European Politics* 33, no. 4 (2010): 770–790; Panke, Diana. *Small States in the European Union Coping with Structural Disadvantages*. Farnham, Surrey, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 777.

²⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 772ff.

²⁶⁶ The three dimensions are a) good cooperation between Permanent Representations and the lead ministries, b) autonomous lead ministries that prioritize EU work and c) good inter-ministerial conflict resolution systems

autonomy, ease of contact among national officials, no formal coordination procedures, limited human resources and flexibility all mirror the features of the Luxembourgish coordination systems.²⁶⁷ Although there remain some differences between the two countries such as the Holy Trinity²⁶⁸ in the Irish case, similarities predominate and maybe point to the fact that small member states might have a different coordination system of EU policy than larger member states because they are, for example, equipped with a lower number in staff than their counterparts in larger member states and thus have different basic prerequisites and possibilities of room for maneuver.

The analysis of the national coordination system of EU policy in Luxembourg has shown that Luxembourg has encountered European pressures just as other EU member states have. Luxembourg's membership in the European Union had consequences for the national administrative procedures. The overall result for Luxembourg fits the findings discovered in the case studies by Kassim et al. and Panke.²⁶⁹ Their focus lies on different aspects of the national coordination of EU policy so that the findings can be considered as being complementary. Although Luxembourg has adapted to a certain extent to European demands, there is still a clear difference between administrative structures at national level and formal structures at European level. The debate in the literature about convergences and divergences of EU member states' administrative structures vis-à-vis the EU matches Kassim's findings. Luxembourg has had to adapt like everybody else but diversity persists in the administrative structures. The fusion predicted by Wessels et al.²⁷⁰ has failed to emerge in the case of Luxembourg, just as in all other cases as well.²⁷¹ Yet, Luxembourg has a need to coordinate

²⁶⁷ Cf. Laffan, Brigid. "Managing Europe from Home in Dublin, Athens and Helsinki: A Comparative Analysis." *West European Politics* 29, no. 4 (2006): 687–708; Laffan, Brigid. "Ireland: Modernisation via Europeanisation." *Fifteen into One* (2003): 248–270; Laffan, Brigid. "Organising for a Changing Europe? Irish Central Government and the European Union", Dublin: Policy Institute, 2001; Laffan, Brigid, and Jane O'Mahony. "Managing Europe from an Irish Perspective: Critical Junctures and the Increasing Formalization of the Core Executive in Ireland." *Public Administration* 85, no. 1 (2007): 167–188; Laffan, Brigid. "Managing Europe from Home." *Occasional Paper* 1 (2003); James, Scott. "Managing European Policy at Home: Analyzing Network Adaptation within the Core Executive." *Political Studies* 58, no. 5 (2010): 930–950.

²⁶⁸ The Holy Trinity represents a close collaboration between the departments of Foreign Affairs, the Taoiseach and Finance, which are at the center of the Irish core executive.

²⁶⁹ Cf. Kassim et al., Hussein. *The National Co-Ordination of EU Policy: The European Level*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001; Kassim, Hussein, Guy Peters, and Vincent Wright. *The National Co-Ordination of EU Policy: The Domestic Level*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000; Panke, Diana. "Good Instructions in No Time? Domestic Coordination of EU Policies in 19 Small States." *West European Politics* 33, no. 4 (2010): 770–790; Panke, Diana. *Small States in the European Union Coping with Structural Disadvantages*. Farnham, Surrey, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010.

²⁷⁰ Cf. Harmsen, Robert. "The Europeanization of National Administrations: A Comparative Study of France and the Netherlands." *Governance* 12, no. 1 (1999): 81–113.

²⁷¹ Cf. Kassim et al., Hussein. *The National Co-Ordination of EU Policy: The European Level*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001; Kassim, Hussein, Guy Peters, and Vincent Wright. *The National Co-Ordination of EU*

its EU policy. This has become clear through the foundation of the CICPE, a special committee intended to coordinate inter-ministerial issues.

3.3 Study 2: The European socialization of national civil servants in Luxembourg

The effects of European socialization on national officials have been under-researched up to now. Only a few EU member states have been examined, with Luxembourg not among them. This empirical study is the first one to explore the case of Luxembourg regarding the effects of European socialization processes on national officials in Luxembourg.

My investigation of the case of Luxembourg is operationalized into two steps. First, a survey seeks to identify to what extent national officials in Luxembourg have been socialized due to exposure at EU level. Second, thanks to subsequent interviews, I endeavor to find out what aspects could be important to gain more insights about the socialization process as such because the existing studies are mainly outcome-oriented. Little has been done regarding the socialization process itself.

3.3.1 Survey

My research into the effects of European socialization on Luxembourgish national officials was to be obtained using quantitative (survey) and qualitative methods (interviews). Both methods have their advantages regarding the effects of European socialization and complement each other. Thus the investigation into the effects of European socialization on Luxembourgish national officials was carried out initially using a questionnaire, which was to provide a basis for further and more in-depth interviews, which followed in a second step. The data was collected with the help of the questionnaire in two separate steps. National officials involved in EU affairs formed the first interviewee group, followed in the second group by national officials not involved in EU affairs. Therefore, my study contains two groups, which I labeled the EU group, e.g. national officials that are involved in EU affairs and attend CWGs

to varying degrees, and the non-EU group, which consists of national officials that are not involved in EU affairs.²⁷²

3.3.1.1 Description

The questionnaire consisted essentially of two parts. The first part and introductory section contained socio-demographic data such as age, gender and diploma obtained as well as information on the institutions at which they obtained their diplomas, questions concerning involvement at EU level and the ministry to which the national official belonged. These questions were integrated in order to identify possible differences between the groups as, particularly concerning EU involvement, national officials were asked to what extent they were involved in EU affairs. Respondents were to indicate whether or not they attended Council Working Groups. With regard to all national officials, it was assumed that they were all involved in EU affairs, the only distinction being between those national officials that attend CWGs and those that do not attend CWGs but are involved in EU affairs – whether or not they work permanently in Brussels or commute every day, or whether they are simply involved in EU affairs without actually being present in the EU arena was irrelevant.

The second part of the questionnaire contains questions with different indicators, designed to provide evidence for the effects of European socialization on Luxembourgish national officials. More precisely, questions 1 to 22 represent independent variables that reflect the conditions under which national officials are likely to adopt supranational role conceptions. Previous research into European socialization has taken the adoption of such supranational role conceptions to indicate that European socialization has taken place.²⁷³ The variables

²⁷² National officials in the EU group were distinguished by their degree of participation, e.g. whether or not they attend Council Working Groups. For national officials not involved in EU affairs, no such distinction was made.

²⁷³ Cf. Scheinman, Lawrence, and Werner Feld. "The European Economic Community and National Civil Servants of the Member States." *International Organization* 26, no. 1 (1972): 121–35; Kerr, Henry. *Changing Attitudes through International Participation: European Parliamentarians and Integration*. Cambridge University Press, 1973; Beyers, Jan. "How Supranational Is Supranationalism? National and European Socialization of Negotiators in the Council of Ministers" (1999); Egeberg, Morten. "Transcending Intergovernmentalism? Identity and Role Perceptions of National Officials in EU Decision-Making." *Journal of European Public Policy* 6, no. 3 (1999): 456–474; Hooghe, Liesbet. "Supranational Activists or Intergovernmental Agents? Explaining the Orientations of Senior Commission Officials toward European Integration." *Comparative Political Studies* 32, no. 4 (1999): 435–463; Schaefer, Guenther F., Morten Egeberg, Silvo Korez, and Jarle Trondal. "The Experience of Member State Officials in EU Committees: A Report on Initial Findings of an Empirical Study." *Eipascope* 2000, no. 3 (2000): 1–7; Trondal, Jarle. "Is There Any Social

tested can generally be categorized into three dimensions: institutional, individual and temporal. At the institutional level, the relation between an institution and a national official has been analyzed by comparing civil servants from the Permanent Representation with national officials from domestic ministries, or civil servants from the Foreign Office with national officials from a domestic ministry. Moreover, the national coordination of EU policy serves as an indicator to predict the effects of European socialization or the efficiency of national coordination. At the individual level, the attitude of national officials has been analyzed, e.g. how they feel about Europe and the European Union, whether they would assess it as positive or negative. Previous studies about European socialization suggest that a positive attitude towards European integration is a valid indicator of the effects of European socialization.²⁷⁴ Furthermore, my inquiry deals with the type of experience that national officials had gained before their involvement in EU affairs, as a national official with a Europe-heavy CV fulfils different requirements to one who has no European or even international experience. In addition, my survey is the first to explore aspects relating to the formation and training of national officials regarding the European context. My survey looks at the type of training national officials involved in EU affairs have completed to enable me to assess tendencies of Europeanization/”Europeanness”. The temporal dimension focuses on the start point and length of EU involvement as well as the level of participation and the frequency of interaction. Previous studies conclude that frequent interaction as well as being

Constructivist-Institutionalist Divide? Unpacking Social Mechanisms Affecting Representational Roles among EU Decision-Makers.” *Journal of European Public Policy* 8, no. 1 (2001): 1–23; Trondal, Jarle. “Beyond the EU Membership-Non-Membership Dichotomy? Supranational Identities among National EU Decision-Makers.” *Journal of European Public Policy* 9, no. 3 (2002): 468–487; Trondal, Jarle, and Frode Veggeland. “Access, Voice and Loyalty: The Representation of Domestic Civil Servants in EU Committees.” *Journal of European Public Policy* 10, no. 1 (2003): 59–80; Beyers, Jan, and Jarle Trondal. “How Nation States’ Hit Europe: Ambiguity and Representation in the European Union.” *West European Politics* 27, no. 5 (2004): 919–942; J. Trondal, „Re-Socializing Civil Servants: The Transformative Powers of EU Institutions“, *Acta Politica* 39, Nr. 1 (2004): 4–30; Beyers, Jan. “Multiple Embeddedness and Socialization in Europe: The Case of Council Officials.” *International Organization* 59, no. 4 (2005): 899–936; Trondal, Jarle. “An Institutional Perspective on Representation. Ambiguous Representation in the European Commission.” *European Integration Online Papers (EIoP)* 10 (2006), Trondal, Jarle. “Is the European Commission a ‘Hothouse’ for Supranationalism? Exploring Actor-Level Supranationalism.” *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 45, no. 5 (2007): 1111–1133; Lempp, Jakob, and Janko Altenschmidt. “The Prevention of Deadlock through Informal Processes of ‘Supranationalization’: The Case of Coreper.” *European Integration* 30, no. 4 (2008): 511–526; Trondal, Jarle. “How Supranational Are Intergovernmental Institutions?: Assessing the Socializing Power of Council Working Parties.” Working Paper. Centre for European Studies, Agder University College, 2003.

²⁷⁴ Cf. Kerr, Henry. *Changing Attitudes through International Participation: European Parliamentarians and Integration*. Cambridge University Press, 1973; Egeberg, Morten. “Transcending Intergovernmentalism? Identity and Role Perceptions of National Officials in EU Decision-Making.” *Journal of European Public Policy* 6, no. 3 (1999): 456–474; Beyers, Jan. “How Supranational Is Supranationalism? National and European Socialisation of Negotiators in the Council of Ministers” (1999).

involved for a long time and from an early stage increases the likelihood of European socialization occurring.²⁷⁵

The conditions under which European socialization can take effect that are investigated in previous studies are manifold. As an investigation of all conditions would go beyond the scope of my thesis, I limited the number of conditions for each dimension. Not all conditions chosen precisely match the conditions in the literature, such as questions on formation or the comparison between national officials from the Foreign Ministry and domestic ministries. As European socialization is, in my view, a process that takes place at different levels, the inclusion of all three dimensions is vital. Current definitions of European socialization in the literature emphasize the internalization of norms and values:

”(...) it is defined as a process of inducting actors into the norms and rules of a given community. Its outcome is sustained compliance based on the internalization of these new norms. In adopting community rules, socialization implies that an agent switches from following a logic of consequences to a logic of appropriateness; this adoption is sustained over time and is quite independent from a particular structure of material incentives or sanctions.”²⁷⁶

More specifically, Beyers²⁷⁷ defines the socialization process with regard to the European context as a process that implies:

“(...) that the involvement in European venues causes a redefinition of norms and practices, and these European norms and values gradually become ‘internalized’ as part of the self. More generally, European socialization refers to the adaptive learning process of national organizational structures, and the individuals representing these, to a changing, or changed, and increasingly Europeanized political environment.”²⁷⁸

Although Checkel’s definition does not refer directly to the European context, both statements are essentially very similar. In both definitions, the internalization of norms and values forms

²⁷⁵ Cf. Beyers, Jan. “Multiple Embeddedness and Socialization in Europe: The Case of Council Officials.” *International Organization* 59, no. 4 (2005): 899–936; Trondal, Jarle. “Beyond the EU Membership-Non-Membership Dichotomy? Supranational Identities among National EU Decision-Makers.” *Journal of European Public Policy* 9, no. 3 (2002): 468–487; Trondal, Jarle, and Frode Veggeland. “Access, Voice and Loyalty: The Representation of Domestic Civil Servants in EU Committees.” *Journal of European Public Policy* 10, no. 1 (2003): 59–80; Trondal, Jarle. “Re-Socializing Civil Servants: The Transformative Powers of EU Institutions.” *Acta Politica* 39, no. 1 (2004): 4–30; Trondal, Jarle. “How Supranational Are Intergovernmental Institutions?: Assessing the Socializing Power of Council Working Parties.” Working Paper. Centre for European Studies, Agder University College, 2003.

²⁷⁶ Checkel, Jeffrey T. “International Institutions and Socialization in Europe: Introduction and Framework.” *International Organization*. 59:04 (2005): p. 804.

²⁷⁷ Beyer’s definition of European socialization has already been cited earlier in the thesis.

²⁷⁸ Beyers, Jan. “Conceptual and Methodological Challenges in the Study of European Socialization.” *Journal of European Public Policy* 17, no. 6 (2010): p. 909f.

part of the socialization process irrespective of which norms and values are involved. Similarly, the “logic of appropriateness” addressed by Checkel and the “adaptive learning process” put forward by Beyers are not mutually exclusive but rather complement each other as the logic of appropriateness represents the underlying logic of the adaptive learning process, which in my opinion is a major component of the socialization process. Beyers states that there are further possibilities for examining European socialization. A focus on the internalization of norms and values would automatically signify that the focus lies at the individual level (according to my categorization), which means that the examination takes place directly at the individual level whether or not norms and values have been internalized. However, each stage of the socialization process and thus the whole process itself is very complex because it goes above and beyond the internalization of norms and values. This is the reason why, in my opinion, all three (proposed) dimensions should be included in the analysis. The time factor plays the same role as the institutional setting. However, socialization regardless of whether at European level or in general – implies more than just the three dimensions proposed. Particularly concerning European socialization, its limits are quite unclear at present. Only longitudinal studies might shed light on the several dimensions and sub-processes of European socialization.

The interviews were selected at random as I contacted all national officials in all ministries that were indicated as “being involved in EU affairs” in the *annuaire général*. At first, I contacted them by phone and presented my study to them. I then asked them whether they were happy to receive my questionnaire. If they agreed, I sent the questionnaire via e-mail or by mail. I explained to them that they could return the questionnaire via e-mail or by mail, should they prefer to remain anonymous. The national officials whom I could not contact by phone were sent the questionnaire by e-mail or, if no e-mail address was indicated, by mail, without obtaining their agreement. One side-effect of this procedure was that some national officials passed my e-mail on to colleagues of theirs, who they felt might be suitable for this survey. Some officials told me that they had passed on my e-mail with the questionnaire and some did not. I contacted around 130 national officials in total and received 47 positive replies. Thus the response rate for the EU group was 36%.

The questionnaire for the group with national officials not involved in EU affairs (non-EU group) was distributed in a similar way as that for the EU group except for two extra conditions. The national officials were selected by their ranks. I only contacted national

officials that had the same rank as civil servants of the EU group, so that both data sets were comparable. The following ranks were used in the selection²⁷⁹:

- Conseiller de gouvernement 1^{ère} classe
- Conseiller de direction 1^{ère} classe
- Attaché de gouvernement
- Premier conseiller de gouvernement
- Conseiller de direction 1^{ère} classe, pratiques commerciales
- Conseiller de direction, questions juridiques
- Attaché de gouvernement 1^{er} en rang
- Inspecteur principal 1^{er} en rang

I also contacted these national officials by phone or, if this proved unsuccessful, by e-mail. In doing so, I followed a list that I established with the help of the *annuaire général* by noting down all national officials from all ministries in Luxembourg with these ranks (if the ranks were indicated in the *annuaire général*) who were not officially titled as a civil servant involved in EU affairs. Initial contact was made by phone, as for the EU group, and I firstly checked whether they were involved in EU affairs or not and then asked for their permission to send the questionnaire. The questionnaire for the non-EU group differed slightly from that for the EU group. The non-EU group questionnaire had no box for the respondent's name as I realized in the first survey round that having this option reduced people's willingness to respond. In addition, questions referring to the Permanent Representation and to institutional affiliation were deleted as they were not relevant for this target group. Respondents also had the possibility to indicate whether or not they were involved in EU affairs. I kept both tick boxes from the EU-group questionnaire and simply added a third possibility indicating non-involvement in EU affairs. I contacted 1,184 national officials in total and received 117 positive responses, which equates to a response rate of 9% for the non-EU group. I also experienced a positive side-effect during the inquiry as, having first contacted all national officials by phone, I encountered civil servants who were involved in EU affairs and who

²⁷⁹ The ranks indicated represent ranks of the *carrière moyenne* and *supérieure*. They are indicated in French as the official language in the Luxembourgish administration is French. The difference between *carrière moyenne* and *supérieure* lies in the qualification obtained. A national official of the *carrière supérieure* needs a university degree in order to obtain this rank. This is not necessary for the *carrière moyenne* or for lower ranks.

were very interested in my study, so I suggested they fill in the questionnaire for the EU group. This allowed me to increase the number of respondents for the EU-group survey from 47 to 63. Furthermore, both questionnaires were prefaced with brief explanatory notes as to how to fill in the questionnaire as well as a deadline and address for returning the questionnaire.

3.3.1.2 Data analysis

The method used to analyze my survey data are descriptive statistics. This method is preferable because the limited number of participants in both surveys does not allow for sophisticated statistical analysis. Moreover, it would go beyond the scope of my thesis to undertake in-depth statistical analysis as it only analyzes the Luxembourgish case in two respects and is not geared towards any broader analyses comparing different empirical studies, e.g. the analysis of more than one country by comparing, for example, at least two countries with each other on a statistical level.

Descriptive statistics is a method that mainly aims to describe and analyze data that has been collected through interviews or surveys. Compared to inferential statistics, descriptive statistics only structures the data, whereas inferential methods are a deductive form of reasoning because they focus on how and to what extent the data in the respective sample is significant and valid beyond the scope of the sample, i.e. to what extent the characteristics can be generalized and represent the characteristics of the population:

“Descriptive statistics consists of procedures used to summarize and describe the important characteristics of a set of measurements. (...) Inferential statistics consists of procedures used to make inferences about a population characteristics from information contained in a sample drawn from this population.”²⁸⁰

Once a researcher has collected empirical data, it is, in its raw version, a sequence of numbers representing measured values. These measured values are then summarized in a data matrix which ultimately represents the data set from which any form of statistical analysis emanates.

²⁸⁰ Mendenhall, William. *Introduction to Probability and Statistics*. Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing, 1967: p. 4.

The instruments descriptive statistics uses in order to handle this number of measured values is determined by frequency distributions. After having regrouped or recategorized the data, even e.g. summarizing it into new variables or classifying single values into different groups in order to narrow down the high number of values, descriptive statistics use tables or graphs or sometimes both in order to illustrate and summarize the results of the analysis. Tables are mainly used in order to identify the frequency distribution of the data, either regrouped or not, by indicating simply the number of units of analysis ($=N$) and the percentage of N compared to the absolute number of participants in the sample. This method, especially when using regrouped or categorized data, seeks to identify patterns in the data. Depending on which scale the respective variable has been measured against, a graph or table will make more sense. The literature distinguishes four different types of scale: nominal, ordinal, interval and ratio scales. Nominal scales are mainly used to illustrate heterogeneity between objects that are different, e.g. gender (male vs. female). Ordinal scales represent a certain ranking order, in which the higher number is accorded a higher value, e.g. “yes”, “yes to some degree”, “not really”, “no”, “I don’t know” or “very often”, “often”, “sometimes”, “never”. Interval scales are used to measure starting and end points such as dates or points, which allows the interval between the values to be measured. Compared to interval scales, ratio scales have a zero point and measure proportions between two attributes. The values are demonstrated in the form of numbers and the scale represents an absolute scale. Comparisons of size or identities are possible. Except for ratio scales, my questionnaire includes all other three types of scale. I mainly used tables in order to present the data of the questionnaires, i.e. all variables that are representable on ordinal or interval scales. The nominal scaled values are presented in the form of a bar chart. The different types of charts such as bar charts, pie charts, line charts or histograms are suitable for presenting absolute and relative frequencies. Bar charts, for example, depict frequencies of the characteristics of a certain variable. Bar charts, can also be used to illustrate variations in time but this is only recommendable if there are only few time segments. A data set with a high number of time segments would instead use line charts illustrate the data and changes over time.

3.3.1.3 Results

3.3.1.3.1 The general sample

A total of 177 national officials participated in the survey of which 63 respondents belong to what I termed the EU group and 82 to the non-EU group. The 82 national officials I counted for the evaluation of my survey represent only those national officials who told me they had no EU involvement. The wider sample initially contained 114 national officials but as some revealed a certain degree of involvement, these were taken out of the sample and the number has thus been restricted to the 82 national officials that identified themselves as having no EU involvement.

Table 2: Distribution of participation level in both groups

| Type of group | Number Percent | Participation in EU Council Working Groups | No participation in CWGs but EU involvement | No EU involvement | Total |
|---------------------|----------------|--|---|-------------------|-------|
| <i>EU group</i> | N | 40 | 23 | - | 63 |
| | % | 63.5 | 36.5 | - | 100 |
| Type of group | Number Percent | Participation in EU Council Working Groups | No participation in CWGs but EU involvement | No EU involvement | Total |
| <i>Non-EU group</i> | N | 2 | 24 | 82 | 108 |
| | % | 1.8 | 22.2 | 71.9 | 100 |

3.3.1.3.2 Socio-demographic characteristics

61 out of 63 participants in the EU group and 80 out of 82 in the non-EU group indicated their age. The average age of respondents in the EU group was 43 and in the non-EU group 42. The distribution in both groups is very similar although the sample of the non-EU group is larger:

Table 3 : Distribution of age for EU and non-EU group

| Type of group | Number Percent | 27-35 years old | 36-45 years old | 46-55 years old | 56-62 years old | Total |
|---------------------|----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------|
| <i>EU group</i> | N | 15 | 22 | 16 | 8 | 61 |
| | % | 24.6 | 36.1 | 26.2 | 13.1 | 100 |
| Type of group | Number Percent | 25-35 years old | 36-45 years old | 46-55 years old | 56-61 years old | Total |
| <i>Non-EU group</i> | N | 19 | 32 | 23 | 6 | 80 |
| | % | 23.8 | 40.0 | 28.8 | 7.5 | 100 |

The proportion of men and woman who participated in the survey differs somewhat between the two groups. The proportion of men and women in the EU group is two-thirds men to one-third women. A relatively even distribution can be found in the survey of the non-EU group, where 52.4% of the respondents were female and 47.6% male. The difference between the two groups can be due to different factors. It is possible that certain ministries are more strongly represented in the EU group and therefore have a higher number of male national officials than female, while the non-EU group has no specific bias and represents a broader sample of the distribution. However, at this stage it can only be assumed as to whether the high proportion of men in the EU group is interest-based, i.e. male national officials tend to work in specific areas, or whether certain ministries tend to employ male more so than female officials.

Table 4 : Distribution of gender in EU and non-EU group

| Gender | Number Percent | Female | Male | Total |
|----------------------------|---------------------------|---------------|-------------|--------------|
| <i>EU group</i> | N | 21 | 42 | 63 |
| | % | 33.3 | 66.7 | 100 |
| <i>Non-EU group</i> | N | 39 | 43 | 82 |
| | % | 47.6 | 52.4 | 100 |

3.3.1.3.3 Ministry involvement and career profiles

As my study aimed to collect data from all 19 ministries of the Luxembourgish public administration, the participants were spread quite widely. However, not all 19 ministries participated in the survey. 16 ministries were represented in the EU group and 14 in the non-EU group. As the following charts demonstrate, there is significant variation among the ministries that participated in both groups. The Foreign Ministry is, as expected, well represented in the EU group but not at all in the non-EU group. The participation of the ministry of economy, national education and agriculture seems to be equal in both groups, even though the level of participation is lower in the non-EU group than in the EU group. It seems that those policy areas are well represented at EU level. Another interesting feature is the high participation level of participation enjoyed by the ministry of state - equally in both groups. The ministry of state is headed by the Prime Minister Jean Claude-Juncker, who is an omnipresent actor at EU level defending both national and EU interests.

Figure 2 : Distribution of representation of Luxembourgish ministries in the EU group

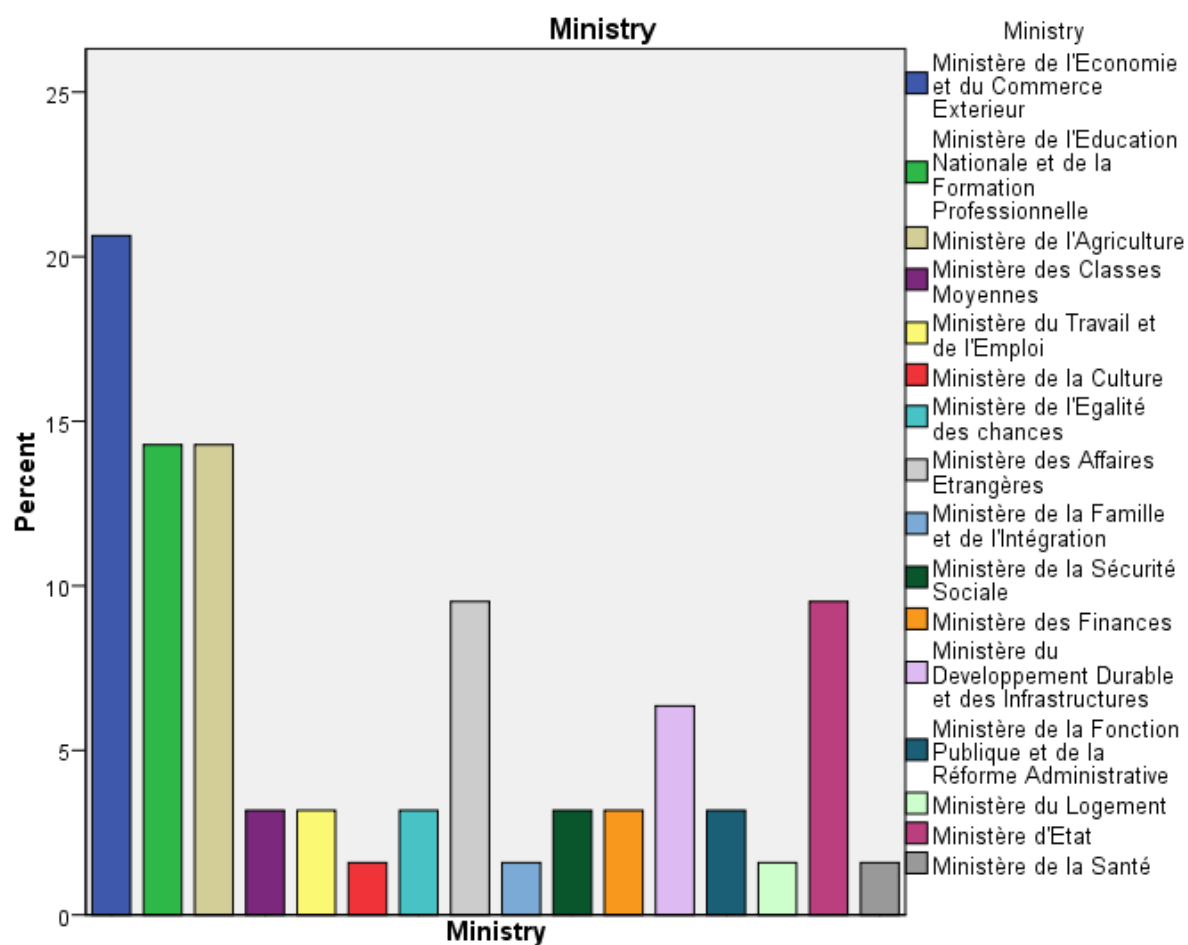
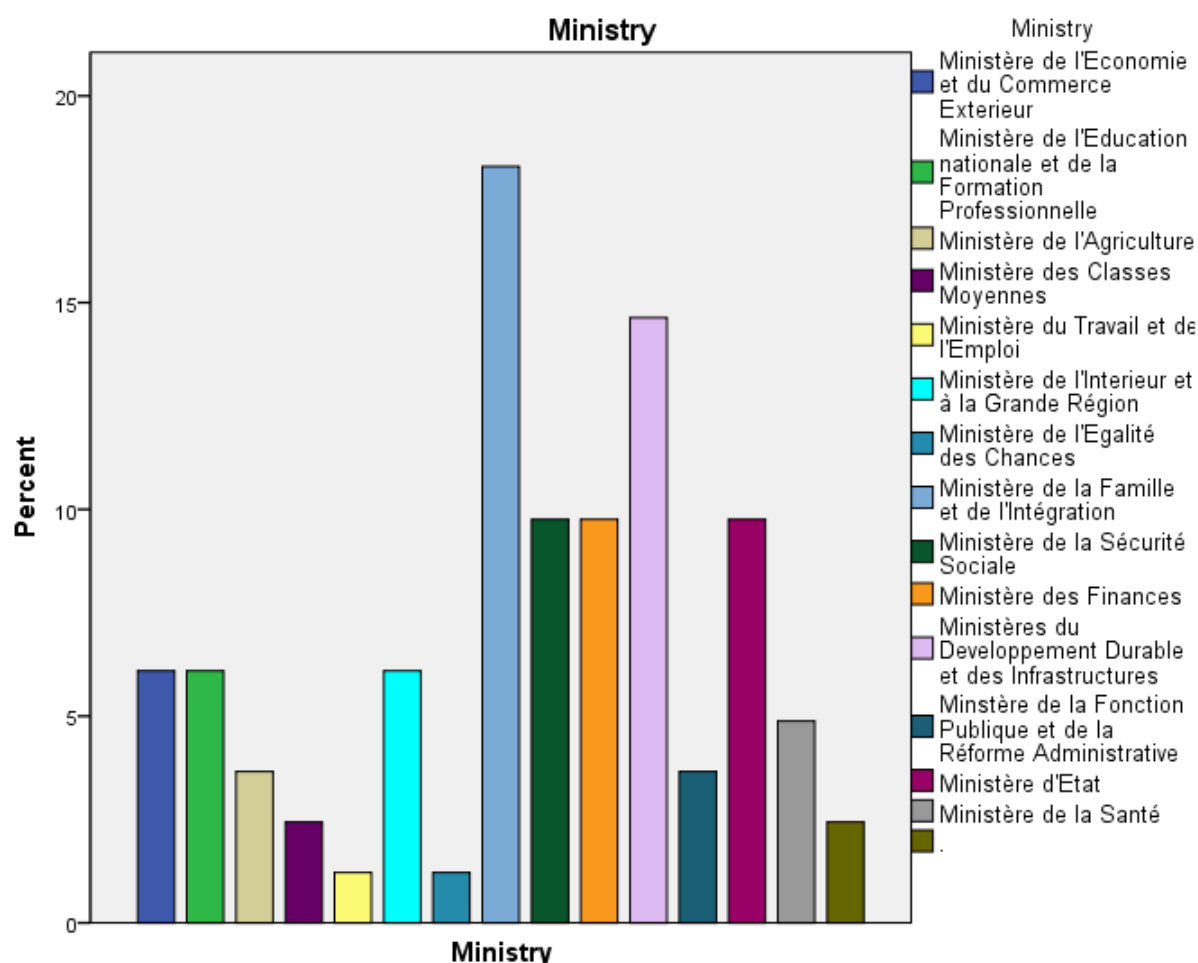


Figure 3 : Distribution of representation of Luxembourgish ministries in the non-EU group



The year in which national officials in the EU group started to work in their ministry indicates the duration of their professional experience. The distribution trend points clearly towards national officials having little rather than extensive professional experience in their ministry as half of the respondents had started to work in their ministry very recently, i.e. between 2000 and 2011. The other half of the respondents started working in their ministry either between 1975 and 1980 or between 1990 and 2000, indicating professional experience of more than 10 years (as the data was collected in 2012). The results for the non-EU group reveal a similar distribution starting in 1976 with only very few national officials starting their careers between 1976 and 1980. The majority of respondents started to work in their ministry very recently - between 2001 and 2012 as well as 1991 and 2000, e.g. in the last 20 years.

Table 5 : Distribution of length of professional experience in respective ministry for the EU group

| Type of group | Number Percent | 1975-1980 | 1981-1990 | 1991-2000 | 2001-2011 | Total |
|----------------------|-----------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|--------------|
| <i>EU group</i> | N | 9 | 5 | 13 | 36 | 63 |
| | % | 14.3 | 7.9 | 20.6 | 57.1 | 100 |
| Type of group | Number Percent | 1976-1980 | 1981-1990 | 1991-2000 | 2001-2012 | Total |
| <i>Non-EU group</i> | N | 7 | 6 | 22 | 47 | 82 |
| | % | 8.5 | 7.3 | 26.8 | 57.3 | 100 |

As the moment when a national official starts to work for a ministry does not necessarily indicate the moment at which he or she enters the civil service, I collected data concerning the date national officials entered the civil service because some of the national officials participating in my study started their work in the ministry on an ordinary contract of employment as an “employé d’état” and then sat the state examination to enter the civil service. The distribution for the EU group would appear to indicate that the majority of national officials participating in my survey came from a relatively young cohort, as almost half of the respondents indicated that they had started in the last ten years. The distribution for the non-EU group is fairly similar to that for the EU group, almost half of the respondents having joined the civil service only very recently.

Table 6: Distribution of entrance into national civil service in Luxembourg for the EU group

| Type of group | Number Percent | 1976-1980 | 1981-1990 | 1991-2000 | 2001-2011 | Total |
|---------------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------|
| <i>EU group</i> | N | 10 | 6 | 18 | 28 | 62 |
| | % | 16.1 | 9.7 | 29.0 | 45.2 | 100 |
| Type of group | Number Percent | 1976-1980 | 1981-1990 | 1991-2000 | 2001-2012 | Total |
| <i>Non-EU group</i> | N | 11 | 15 | 22 | 33 | 81 |
| | % | 13.6 | 18.5 | 27.2 | 40.7 | 100 |

Question 4 covers how long national officials (those who are involved in EU affairs) have been working at the Luxembourgish Permanent Representation. This question was only asked to the EU group as the national officials in the non-EU group are not involved in EU affairs and the question of whether and how long they have been working at the PR in Brussels does not apply. 8 out of 63 national officials indicated in the questionnaire that they are currently working at the Permanent Representation of Luxembourg or that they have worked there in the past. The number of years stated can thus cover both options, i.e. it does not distinguish whether or not the respective official is still working in Brussels.

Table 7 : Number of years that national officials worked at the Permanent Representation of Luxembourg in Brussels

| Number Percent | 1 year | 2 years | 5 years | 6 years | 8 years | 9 years | 10 years | Total |
|----------------|--------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|----------|-------|
| N | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 8 |
| % | 25 | 12.5 | 12.5 | 12.5 | 12.5 | 12.5 | 12.5 | 100 |

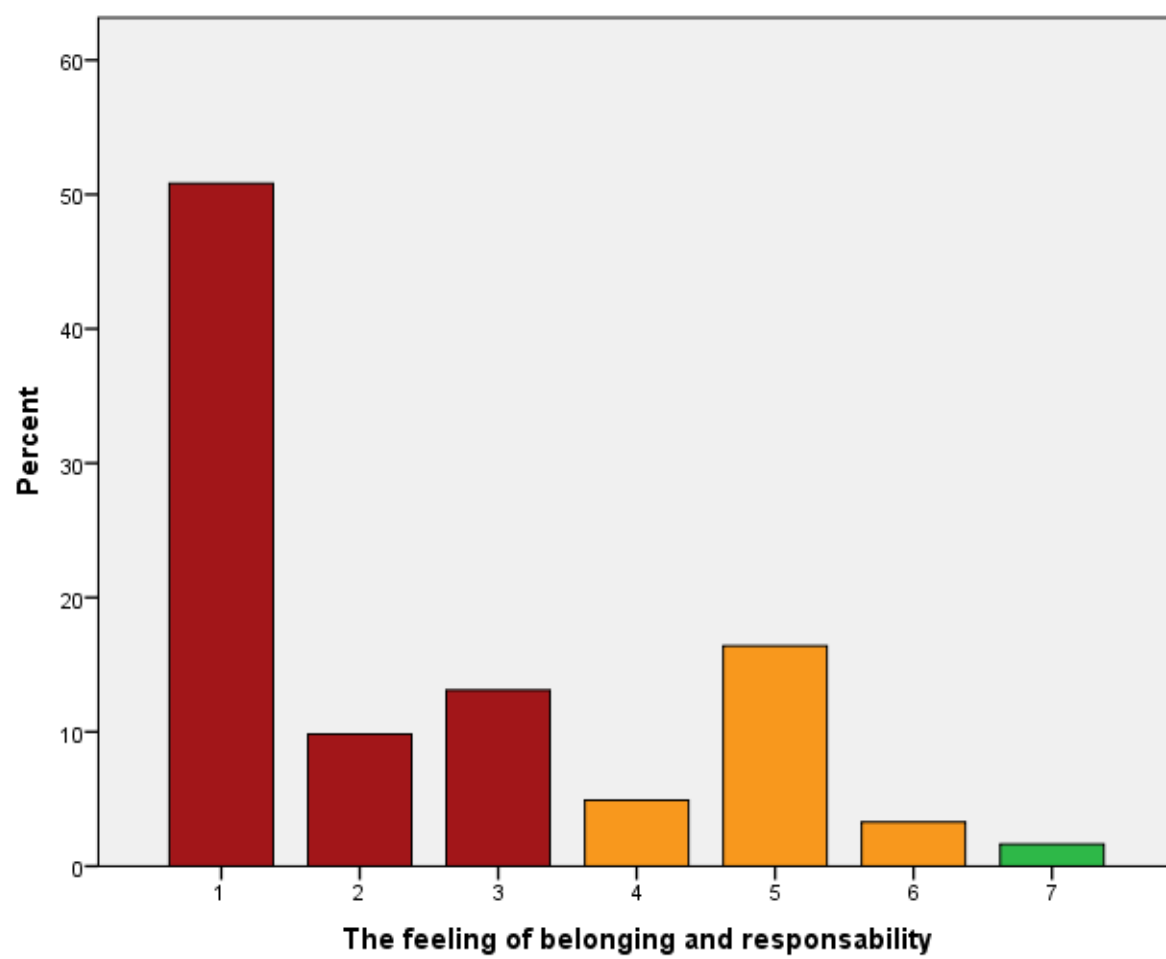
3.3.1.3.4 Institutional affiliation

Question 5 measures the feeling of belonging and responsibility, e.g. which institution they feel they belong to and feel responsible for. This question was only posed to national officials of the EU group. Respondents answered based on a 10-point scale, with the first three options representing a feeling of belonging to their domestic ministry in different degrees (1 = very strong and 3 = less strong). In the middle of the scale, respondents had another three boxes representing both institutions, i.e. they feel they belong to both sets of institutions, again in different degrees (4 = more so the domestic ministry than both sets of institutions equally and 6 = more so the EU institutions than both sets of institutions equally). Box number 7 is sandwiched between the EU institutions and the feeling of belonging to both sets of institutions and the last three boxes represent only institutions at the European level, again to different degrees (8 = more so both sets of institutions than only the EU institutions and 10 = only identifying with EU institutions). In total, 61 out of 63 participants answered this question. The majority indicated that they felt a strong sense of belonging to their domestic ministry (box 1-3), the rest (box 4-6), with the exception of one national official, responded that they have a feeling of belonging towards both EU and national level to a certain degree. For a group of national officials that is involved in EU affairs to different degrees, this result shows a relatively strong bias toward a national orientation.

Table 8 : The feeling of belonging and responsibility of national officials in Luxembourg

| | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|----------------|-----------|---------|---------------|--------------------|
| 1 | 31 | 49.2 | 50.8 | 50.8 |
| 2 | 6 | 9.5 | 9.8 | 60.7 |
| 3 | 8 | 12.7 | 13.1 | 73.8 |
| 4 | 3 | 4.8 | 4.9 | 78.7 |
| 5 | 10 | 15.9 | 16.4 | 95.1 |
| 6 | 2 | 3.2 | 3.3 | 98.4 |
| 7 | 1 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 100.0 |
| Total | 61 | 96.8 | 100.0 | |
| Missing System | 2 | 3.2 | | |
| Total | 63 | 100.0 | | |

Figure 4 : National Officials' Institutional Affiliation



3.3.1.3.5 Time dedicated to EU work

Questions number 6, 7 and 8 in the questionnaire of the EU group relate to time aspects of EU involvement. They focus on the frequency of participants' EU involvement during their work, the number of years they have been involved in EU-related work, and the proportion of EU involvement since they started their professional career as a national civil servant.

The question relating to the proportion of national officials' professional activity dedicated to EU affairs and the proportion that has been dedicated to EU affairs since the beginning of their career received similar answers in the EU group. The majority indicated that less than 10% of their professional activity was dedicated to EU-related work. The minority of respondents for the EU group indicated that they spent more than 50% of their time on EU affairs (see table 9). The sample shows in general a tendency towards national officials spending very little time on EU-related matters.

Table 9: Time dedicated to EU-related work in % in general (question 6) and since the beginning of participants' civil service career (question 8) in the EU group

| Question 6 Time in % | N | % | Question 8 Time in % | N | % |
|-------------------------|----|------|-------------------------|----|------|
| 0-10 % | 16 | 26.2 | 0-10 % | 18 | 29.5 |
| 11-20 % | 8 | 13.1 | 11-20 % | 6 | 9.8 |
| 21-30 % | 9 | 14.8 | 21-30 % | 12 | 19.7 |
| 31-40 % | 5 | 8.2 | 31-40 % | 3 | 4.9 |
| 41-50 % | 7 | 11.5 | 41-50 % | 6 | 9.8 |
| 51-60 % | 2 | 3.3 | 51-60 % | 2 | 3.3 |
| 61-70 % | 6 | 9.8 | 61-70 % | 6 | 9.8 |

| | | | | | |
|---------|---|-----|---------|---|-----|
| 71-80 % | 4 | 6.6 | 71-80 % | 4 | 6.6 |
| 81-90% | 2 | 3.3 | 81-90% | 2 | 3.3 |
| 91-100% | 2 | 3.3 | 91-100% | 2 | 3.3 |

Table no. 10 shows the results for the number of years that respondents have spent on EU dossiers in their career as a national civil servant. The result for the EU group shows that the majority of respondents have spent less than 10 years in their civil service career on EU-related work. This may also be related to the fact that a lot of the participants only entered the civil service very recently. Therefore, the results show a tendency towards a low number of years even though the group comprises respondents that have been involved in EU affairs to different degrees.

Table 10: Time spent on EU dossiers since the beginning of participants' careers as national civil servants for the EU group

| Time spent on EU dossiers in number of years | N | % |
|--|----|------|
| 0-5 | 15 | 23.8 |
| 6-10 | 20 | 31.7 |
| 11-15 | 9 | 14.3 |
| 16-20 | 9 | 14.3 |
| 21-25 | 4 | 6.3 |
| 26-30 | 3 | 4.8 |
| 31-35 | 3 | 4.8 |
| Total | 63 | 100 |

3.3.1.3.6 Perceptions of Europeanization

The questionnaire contains three questions designed to record the perceptions of national civil servants in Luxembourg. All three questions targeted Europeanization effects such as the consequences of Europeanization. For example, Europeanization has led to the assimilation of more day-to-day policies in the EC, which thus counts as one indicator for the effects of Europeanization. The aim of the three questions was to ascertain whether the effects of Europeanization affect national officials as well by measuring how they perceived the evolution of the European integration process. The relatively low response rate is due to the fact that the number of senior national officials who had worked for at least 20 years in the Luxembourgish civil service was relatively low. The majority of respondents in the EU group perceived an increase in the participation of national officials in EU affairs in the last 20 years but was less sure as to whether cooperation with other EU member states had become easier in the last 20 years. The same can be found concerning the cooperation with EU institutions. A third of respondents indicated in all three questions that they did not know. This could signify that they simply do not remember the evolution or that they have not been involved in EU affairs for 20 years.

Table 11 : Perceptions of national officials regarding three issues related to Europeanization effects comparing them with the situation 20 years ago (EU group)

| Increased participation of national officials in EU affairs compared to 20 years ago | | | | | | |
|--|------|--------------------|------------|-----|--------------|-------|
| | Yes | Yes to some degree | Not really | No | I don't know | Total |
| N | 21 | 9 | 3 | - | 12 | 45 |
| % | 46.7 | 20.0 | 6.7 | - | 26.7 | 100 |
| Cooperation with EU member states easier compared to 20 years ago | | | | | | |
| N | 8 | 15 | 4 | 4 | 11 | 42 |
| % | 19.0 | 35.7 | 9.5 | 9.5 | 26.2 | 100 |
| Cooperation with EU institutions more necessary compared to 20 years ago | | | | | | |
| N | 12 | 18 | 1 | 2 | 10 | 43 |
| % | 27.9 | 41.9 | 2.3 | 4.7 | 23.3 | 100 |

3.3.1.3.7 Frequency of contact

Socialization effects have often been measured using the contact hypothesis. Here, national officials' contact with colleagues from other member states becomes a crucial indicator for socialization effects. Therefore, three questions concerning the frequency of contact with colleagues of other member states were asked in the questionnaire. Questions number 10 and 11 address the frequency with which Luxembourgish national officials contact colleagues from other member states, both in general terms and as may incidentally arise in relation to specific dossiers. In contrast, question 12 focuses on the frequency with which Luxembourgish national officials are contacted by colleagues from other member states. Question 12 thus focuses strongly on the individual perception of national officials. National officials had four possibilities to answer: very often, often, sometimes and never. The response rate of the EU group was very good, while the non-EU group had some missing answers.

Although national officials from the EU group are by definition involved in EU affairs, the majority of the respondents indicated that they only contact colleagues from other member states sometimes. Interestingly, no national official out of 63 indicated for the first question that he or she is never in contact with colleagues from other members. A similar tendency regarding the question of how often they contact colleagues from other member states concerning a certain dossier can be found in the second question. The majority answered that they are only sometimes in touch with colleagues from other member states regarding a certain dossier. However, when it comes to contact regarding a certain dossier, it can happen that national officials never have any contact with colleagues from other member states as a small proportion indicated this. On the other hand, the majority of Luxembourgish national officials were sometimes contacted by colleagues from other member states. A minority indicated that they have never been contacted by colleagues from other member states. In this sense, Luxembourgish national officials tend to perceive themselves as proactive compared with their colleagues from other member states. However, the answers to these three questions only reflect the self-perceptions of national officials in Luxembourg.

As expected, the majority of participants in the non-EU group regarding all three questions indicated that they have never been in contact with national officials from other member states. This is not a surprising result, though it should be noted that around a fifth of the officials in the non-EU group report some contact with officials in other member states,

amongst other factors potentially reflecting the inevitably strong cross-border dimension to Luxembourgish administration both inside and outside the formal structures of the EU.

Table 12 : Frequencies of contact in the EU group

| How often do you contact colleagues from other member states? | | | | | |
|--|------------|-------|-----------|-------|-------|
| | Very often | often | sometimes | never | Total |
| N | 12 | 22 | 29 | - | 63 |
| % | 19 | 34.9 | 46 | - | 100 |
| How often do you contact a colleague from another member state concerning a certain dossier? | | | | | |
| N | 6 | 16 | 36 | 4 | 62 |
| % | 9.7 | 25.8 | 58.1 | 6.5 | 100 |
| How often are you contacted by a colleague from another member state concerning a certain dossier? | | | | | |
| N | 11 | 16 | 33 | 3 | 63 |
| % | 17.5 | 25.4 | 52.4 | 4.8 | 100 |

Table 13 : Frequencies of contact in the non-EU group

| How often do you contact colleagues from other member states? | | | | | |
|--|------------|-------|-----------|-------|-------|
| | Very often | often | sometimes | never | Total |
| N | 2 | 2 | 21 | 53 | 78 |
| % | 2.6 | 2.6 | 26.9 | 67.9 | 100 |
| How often do you contact a colleague from another member state concerning a certain dossier? | | | | | |
| N | - | 2 | 18 | 59 | 79 |
| % | - | 2.5 | 22.8 | 74.7 | 100 |
| How often are you contacted by a colleague from another member state concerning a certain dossier? | | | | | |
| N | - | 1 | 17 | 61 | 79 |
| % | - | 1.3 | 21.5 | 77.2 | 100 |

3.3.1.3.8 Domestic coordination

In the literature, several approaches are used to examine domestic coordination in relation to the likelihood of socialization occurring. It has been argued that the weaker the efficiency of a coordination system in a member state, the more likely national officials are to adopt supranational role conceptions. Similarly, missing information is regarded as an indicator for determining the likelihood and the extent of European socialization.²⁸¹ As regards the effectiveness of domestic coordination, a study carried out by Panke quantified the national coordination of EU policy in 18 small member states. Panke uses variables such as autonomy of lead ministries (under the condition that the ministries prioritize EU policy issues over domestic policy) (1), the type of cooperation between the Permanent Representation and lead ministries (capital- vs. Brussels-based coordination system) (2) and the ability to reach an inter-ministerial consensus in the respective member state (3) as indicators for determining

²⁸¹ Cf. Beyers, Jan. "Multiple Embeddedness and Socialization in Europe: The Case of Council Officials." *International Organization* 59, no. 4 (2005): 899–936.

the punctuality and quality of national positions delivered to the Permanent Representations, which, in turn, could be regarded as one of the crucial barometers measuring the efficiency of the national system of EU policy coordination.

In the survey presented in the thesis two variables are used to measure the effectiveness of Luxembourg's coordination of EU policy: autonomy of individual civil servants (1) and lack of consensus (2). A high level of both indicators would imply that negotiating positions are formed swiftly and would thus support the assumption that the domestic coordination system is efficient.

The results of the survey carried out for the purpose of this thesis largely confirm Panke's findings in the consensus dimension as the majority of respondents came between a moderate middle and high level of consensus-seeking indicating that consensus is only sometimes or never lacking. The observed ability to resolve potential conflicts and find consensus easily results in high efficiency of the Luxembourg's coordination system in general. The existing research of European socialization suggests that socialization is more likely to occur where coordination systems are weak.²⁸² Consequently, the precondition for socialization in Luxembourg would be a weak coordination system. Findings of this thesis prove the efficiency of Luxembourg's coordination system, therefore, following the above assumption, European socialization should be expected to occur in a moderate form at most. However, the presented research results show the opposite – despite an efficient coordination system there is evidence that Luxembourgish civil servants undergo European socialization processes.

A further variable to test the likelihood of European socialization taking place is the missing information required in order to deal with dossiers. According to Beyers, the more frequently information is missing, the more likely national officials are to adopt supranational role conceptions.²⁸³ Following that logic, the results for the missing information variable in the study presented in this thesis should indicate a rather low level of European socialization as the majority of national officials reported a moderate to low level of missing information, so they tend to be tied to their instructions and do not have much leeway in policy formulation at European level.²⁸⁴ That notwithstanding, a high degree of European socialization has been

²⁸² Cf. Ibid

²⁸³ Cf. Ibid.

²⁸⁴ This conclusion can only apply to national officials in the EU group as European socialization cannot also affect national officials not involved in EU affairs. In addition, although the same trend is observable in both groups, the EU group shows a stronger bias towards perceiving the coordination in Luxembourg to be efficient than the non-EU group does. On the other hand, this does not undermine the conclusion that an efficient coordination system may have positive consequences for the European socialization process.

detected. While national officials talked of a relatively autonomous way of working, at the same time they also pointed to the fact that they have to toe the “political line” of the ministry after consultation with their superior. Only those with long-standing professional experience in the civil service and in European dossiers are allowed to make autonomous decisions, provided that they respect the ministry’s overall philosophy.²⁸⁵

Table 14 : Frequency of instructions and lack of consensus as an indicator for the level of effectiveness of domestic coordination of EU policy (only EU group)

| How often do you receive instructions from your superior? | | | | | |
|---|------------|-------|-----------|-------|-------|
| | Very often | often | sometimes | never | Total |
| N | 4 | 23 | 33 | 1 | 61 |
| % | 6.6 | 37.7 | 54.1 | 1.6 | 100 |
| Do you have problems handling a dossier because of a lack of consensus among political leaders? | | | | | |
| N | 1 | 7 | 31 | 21 | 60 |
| % | 1.7 | 11.7 | 51.7 | 35.0 | 100 |

²⁸⁵ Cf. interviews about national coordination of EU policy in Luxembourg.

Table 15 : A lack of information as an indicator for the effects of national coordination on EU socialization in the EU and non-EU group

| Do you have problems handling a dossier because of missing information? (EU group) | | | | | |
|--|------------|-------|-----------|-------|-------|
| | very often | often | sometimes | never | Total |
| N | 2 | 3 | 31 | 25 | 61 |
| % | 3.3 | 4.9 | 50.8 | 41.0 | 100 |
| Do you have problems handling a dossier because of missing information? (non-EU group) | | | | | |
| N | 1 | 7 | 46 | 25 | 79 |
| % | 1.3 | 8.9 | 58.2 | 31.6 | 100 |

3.3.1.3.9 National policy questions

The very last part of the questionnaire is dedicated to questions that measure national officials' attitude towards Europe. In total, there are 7 questions. The first two questions are questions of national policy. They cover topics that are specific to Luxembourg and indirectly measure national officials' attitude towards the EU. While the first one questions the opening-up of the civil service in Luxembourg to EU foreigners, the second one addresses the right of foreign EU nationals' to vote in Luxembourg. Hence both link to the broader complexes of values encompassing European integration identified by Kriesi et al. pointing to the emergence of cleavage between what they term integrationist and demarcationist positions.²⁸⁶ In the case of the opening-up of the Luxembourgish civil service and the extension of the vote to EU foreigners, approving these measures would be in line with a pro-integrationist point of view, whereas a disapproval would indicate a demarcationist tendency.

The survey results indicate an integrationist tendency in the EU group, with stronger demarcationist elements in the non-EU group. In the EU group, a slim majority emerged for opening up the civil service (52.3% opting for 'Yes' or a 'Yes to some degree'), while a clear majority (63.8%) expressed some degree of support for extending the franchise. In contrast, a majority of officials in the non-EU group opposed the opening up of the civil service (57.5% 'No' or 'Not really'), and further showed less enthusiasm than their EU counterparts as regards the extension of voting rights (50% for some form of 'Yes'). Therefore, national officials in Luxembourg that are strongly involved in EU affairs tend to have a stronger integrationist point of view than those national officials who are not. While this result may provide evidence for the effects of European socialization on national officials in Luxembourg, it also may have been shaped by other factors such as the level of an official's education, i.e. national officials that are strongly involved in EU affairs tend to have a higher-level educational and/or EU background than officials in the general civil service as well as an ambition to make their career at EU level.

²⁸⁶ Cf. Kriesi, Hans-Peter. *West European Politics in the Age of Globalization*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Table 16 : Approval and disapproval regarding national policy questions in Luxembourg in the EU group

| The civil service in Luxembourg should be open up to EU foreigners | | | | | | |
|--|------|--------------------|------------|------|--------------|-------|
| | Yes | Yes to some degree | Not really | No | I don't know | Total |
| N | 8 | 23 | 16 | 6 | 6 | 59 |
| % | 13.6 | 39.0 | 27.1 | 10.2 | 10.2 | 100 |
| EU foreigners should get the right to vote in Luxembourg | | | | | | |
| N | 17 | 20 | 9 | 8 | 4 | 58 |
| % | 29.3 | 34.5 | 15.5 | 13.8 | 6.9 | 100 |

Table 17 : Approval and disapproval regarding national policy questions in Luxembourg in the non-EU group

| The civil service in Luxembourg should be opened up to EU foreigners | | | | | | |
|--|------|--------------------|------------|------|--------------|-------|
| | Yes | Yes to some extent | Not really | No | I don't know | Total |
| N | 8 | 21 | 24 | 22 | 5 | 80 |
| % | 10 | 26.3 | 30 | 27.5 | 6.3 | 100 |
| EU foreigners should get the right to vote in Luxembourg | | | | | | |
| N | 13 | 28 | 15 | 22 | 4 | 82 |
| % | 15.9 | 34.1 | 18.3 | 26.8 | 4.9 | 100 |

3.3.1.3.10 Instrumental Europeanization

The questionnaire contains an item addressing whether the cooperation at European level had any advantages for the domestic ministry due to European membership. In this sense, the question aimed to discover to what extent the domestic ministry has instrumentalized Europeanization in order to enforce that ministry's goals at national level. Sometimes member states have difficulties passing a law at national level. Participation in EU policy-making can represent a loophole for domestic policy-makers as it allows them to enforce a regulation via the European channel. Once a regulation has been adopted at EU level, it automatically has to become national law regardless of whether the regulation affects the respective member state. This is, incidentally, why Luxembourg is often behind regarding the implementation of European regulations as there are many of them that do not directly affect the country, e.g. certain maritime issues. The survey results reveal that the majority of national officials involved in EU affairs think that their domestic ministry has gained an advantage concerning its own policy goals through EU cooperation. National officials in the non-EU group tended to express uncertainty regarding this issue. However, even though these national officials are not involved in EU affairs, a relatively high number of respondents compared to the EU group perceived EU cooperation or EU membership as being beneficial for the purpose of achieving domestic policy objectives. This is certainly possible as this kind of Europeanization can even be perceptible for national officials that are not involved in EU affairs as the effect is demonstrated on a goal of national policy that could have been successfully translated into national law via the European channel. Moreover, it is not clear to what extent participants in the non-EU group are involved in the process of implementing European regulations, which on the other hand can also have an impact on national officials' perceptions of instrumentalized Europeanization.

Table 18 : The benefit of EU integration for the domestic ministry in the EU group

| The benefit of EU integration for the domestic ministry | | | | | | |
|---|------|--------------------|------------|-----|--------------|-------|
| | Yes | Yes to some extent | Not really | No | I don't know | Total |
| N | 21 | 26 | 4 | 3 | 7 | 61 |
| % | 34.4 | 42.6 | 6.6 | 4.9 | 11.5 | 100 |

Table 19 : The benefit of EU integration for the domestic ministry in the non-EU group

| The benefit of EU integration for the domestic ministry | | | | | | |
|---|-----|--------------------|------------|------|--------------|-------|
| | Yes | Yes to some extent | Not really | No | I don't know | Total |
| N | 7 | 19 | 11 | 10 | 35 | 82 |
| % | 8.5 | 23.2 | 13.4 | 12.2 | 42.7 | 100 |

3.3.1.3.11 wider attitudes to European integration

The three statements containing ideas about what the EU should or should not do measure the respondent's attitude towards EU integration insofar as the degree of agreement or disagreement shows their bias for or against EU integration. The first statement, specifically concerning the working of Council groups, concerns only the EU group; the two more general questions, concerning the longer term direction of the EU, concern both groups. Participants were given a six-point Likert scale in order to express their agreement with "agree" and "disagree" at the two ends. The first three boxes on the scale represent different degrees of agreement, whereas the last three boxes represent different degrees of disagreement. The first and the last box represent total agreement/disagreement. The second box indicates a normal degree of agreement and the third agreement to a lesser extent. The same applies to box four

and five. Box four represents less disagreement than box five. Maximum agreement in each case signifies a pro-European attitude.

The general results for all three statements in the EU group indicate a tendency toward approval and thus a pro-European attitude, although approval in the EU group was lower in the case of the second statement which deals with the strengthening of the executive at EU level. The non-EU group, however, indicates a stronger level of approval of the idea of a stronger executive and a lower level of approval concerning the task of the European Commission and national officials in European public policy. In general, the responses in both the EU and non-EU groups indicate a pro-European attitude among national officials in Luxembourg. There is almost no difference regarding orientation because it is not possible to detect a stronger tendency in either of the groups; instead, there is a different distribution of approval towards pro-European measures that should be put into practice, e.g. whereas the non-EU group approves a strengthening of the EU executive, the EU group is more skeptical.

Table 20 : Statements measuring national officials' attitude towards EU integration in the EU group

| | | | | | | | |
|--|--------------|----------|----------|----------|----------|---------------------|--------------|
| The main task of the working groups should be to achieve common aims and establish a common policy, working together with the different member states and the European Commission. | | | | | | | |
| | Agree | | | | | Do not agree | Total |
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | |
| N | 21 | 30 | 4 | 3 | 2 | - | 60 |
| % | 35 | 50 | 6.7 | 5.0 | 3.3 | - | 100 |
| I believe our work should be underpinned by a single unified policy, strengthening the executive power of European institutions. | | | | | | | |
| | Agree | | | | | Do not agree | Total |
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | |
| N | 5 | 4 | 21 | 9 | 13 | 8 | 60 |
| % | 8.3 | 6.7 | 35 | 15 | 21.7 | 13.3 | 100 |

| | | | | | | | |
|--|--------------|----------|----------|----------|----------|---------------------|--------------|
| The principal activity of the European Commission and national officials should be to establish focuses that are relevant to the policies of the respective member states. | | | | | | | |
| | Agree | | | | | Do not agree | Total |
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | |
| N | 13 | 18 | 16 | 5 | 4 | 1 | 57 |
| % | 22.8 | 31.6 | 28.1 | 8.8 | 7.0 | 1.8 | 100 |

Table 21 : Statements measuring national officials' attitude towards EU integration in the non-EU group

| | | | | | | | |
|--|--------------|----------|----------|----------|----------|---------------------|--------------|
| I believe our work should be underpinned by a single unified policy, strengthening the executive power of European institutions. | | | | | | | |
| | Agree | | | | | Do not agree | Total |
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | |
| N | 7 | 21 | 19 | 15 | 12 | 5 | 79 |
| % | 8.9 | 26.6 | 24.1 | 19 | 15.2 | 6.3 | 100 |
| The principal activity of the European Commission and national officials should be to establish focuses that are relevant to the policies of the respective member states. | | | | | | | |
| | Agree | | | | | Do not agree | Total |
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | |
| N | 15 | 23 | 30 | 5 | 4 | - | 77 |
| % | 19.5 | 29.9 | 39 | 6.5 | 5.2 | - | 100 |

The last question in the questionnaire deals with the change in the attitude of national officials regarding the EU and European integration. I wanted to know their own perception of how their attitude had evolved in the course of their involvement in EU affairs. The respondents had four possibilities to answer: “yes” and “no” and “yes but more specifically”, e.g. yes in a positive way or in a negative way. In this sense, if the answer was “yes”, I wanted to know how the change occurred, hence the additional two options enabling respondents that would answered “yes” to give more details about their answer. If they only stated “yes”, this means that they either could not be any more specific about the change or that it was neither negative nor positive but rather neutral. The equal distribution in the EU group is not surprising

although a more positive response trend would have been more in line with expectations. However, the response trend in the non-EU group is striking as the majority of national officials did not experience any change in attitude towards the European Union. A minority of national officials stated that a change in attitude had taken place although they are not involved in EU affairs. One result that is particularly striking in the non-EU group is the high number of national officials that experienced a negative change in attitude toward the EU. This may be related to the negative image which was presented in the media from time to time.

Table 22 : Change in attitude regarding the European Union among national officials in the EU group

| | Yes | Yes, positively | Yes, negatively | No | Total |
|----------|-------------|------------------------|------------------------|-------------|--------------|
| N | 17 | 13 | 15 | 16 | 61 |
| % | 27.9 | 21.3 | 24.6 | 26.2 | 100 |

Table 23 : Change in attitude regarding the European Union among national officials in the non-EU group

| | Yes | Yes, positively | Yes, negatively | No | Total |
|----------|------------|------------------------|------------------------|-------------|--------------|
| N | 6 | 8 | 13 | 41 | 68 |
| % | 8.8 | 11.8 | 19.1 | 60.3 | 100 |

3.3.1.4 Discussion

The presented thesis is the first study to examine the domestic coordination of EU policy and the Luxembourgish civil service. It paints a pioneering picture of the extent and limits of Europeanization demonstrated on the case study of Luxembourg even if the data collected from the EU and non-EU groups did not quite allow to conduct a well-grounded statistical analysis.

The evidence suggests that national officials in Luxembourg with some degree of involvement in EU affairs were affected to some degree by the European socialization process. Stressing the differences and similarities between the EU and the non-EU group, the level of national officials' involvement in EU affairs and their institutional affiliation have become key indicators in my study in order to demonstrate how national officials in Luxembourg were affected by the European socialization process. However, my results have indicated limits in their operationalization. First, the descriptive approach used instead of a refined statistical analysis allowing to test the adoption of supranational role conceptions, constitutes a somewhat limited informative value due to a low response rate. A considerably higher number of responses would have been necessary in order to get results statistically significant for investigating the European socialization of national officials. Second, the design of the survey presented in this thesis covers a set of variables allowing to get a broad view of the case of Luxembourg as no data in Luxembourg had ever been collected regarding this issue. However, this weakens to some extent the overall applicability of research results.

The two investigated groups (EU and non-EU) appear relatively homogeneous in terms of their socio-demographic characteristics – they comprise middle-aged participants with a moderate professional experience in the civil service. Moreover, a slight dominance of men in the EU group and an equal distribution of gender in the non-EU group could be observed. The response behavior for each individual question reveals both similarities and differences, whereas discrepancies prevail. Similarities between the two groups have mainly been detected through questions related to wider attitudes towards European integration and the domestic coordination system. The results revealed a pro-European attitude among all participants and the domestic coordination system is perceived as efficient. The first difference between the EU and non-EU group relates to the frequency of contact. National officials in the EU group perceived themselves as being fairly proactive regarding frequent contact with colleagues from other member states and report being in contact relatively frequently, whereas in the

non-EU group the majority do not seek any contact or are themselves not contacted by colleagues from other member states at all. Only a small number of national officials indicated that they are in contact with colleagues from other member states, although they also indicated that they were not involved in EU affairs. Previous studies²⁸⁷ investigating the impact of contact among state representatives and the adoption of supranational role conceptions have detected a positive relationship between the two variables, arguing:

“that national officials with many informal contacts with other committee participants tend to evoke supranational allegiances more strongly than officials with fewer informal contacts with other committee participants.”²⁸⁸

and

“that officials with a great deal of informal face-to-face contact with fellow committee participants outside formal committee meetings report that an esprit de corps emerges to a lesser extent compared to officials with fewer face-to-face contacts.”²⁸⁹

However, according to Beyers, this assumption lacks any form of control for domestic factors as, in his opinion, state representatives are embedded at multiple levels. Beyers tested the contact hypothesis in his study by using quantitative interview material and factor analysis in order to find evidence for there being no systematic link between frequent contact among state representatives and the adoption of supranational role conceptions.²⁹⁰ Whether or not national officials in Luxembourg tend to display stronger socialization effects while being in contact with colleagues from other member states more frequently is not possible to answer with reference to the data presented in this study as it has a limited explanatory power.

Further differences relate to questions of national political relevance such as the opening-up of the Luxembourgish civil service to EU foreigners or the possibility of extending the vote to

²⁸⁷ Cf. Trondal, Jarle. “Two Worlds of Europeanisation-Unpacking Models of Government Innovation and Transgovernmental Imitation.” *European Integration Online Papers (EIoP)* 9, no. 1 (2005); Trondal, Jarle. “Beyond the EU Membership-Non-Membership Dichotomy? Supranational Identities among National EU Decision-Makers.” *Journal of European Public Policy* 9, no. 3 (2002): 468–487; 2002, Trondal, Jarle. “Is There Any Social Constructivist-Institutionalist Divide? Unpacking Social Mechanisms Affecting Representational Roles among EU Decision-Makers.” *Journal of European Public Policy* 8, no. 1 (2001): 1–23; Lægveid, Per. *Changes in Norwegian Public Personnel Policy*. Bergen: Norsk senter for forskning i ledelse, organisasjon og styring, 1988; Egeberg, Morten. “Transcending Intergovernmentalism? Identity and Role Perceptions of National Officials in EU Decision-Making.” *Journal of European Public Policy* 6, no. 3 (1999): 456–474; Haas, Ernst. *The Uniting of Europe: Political, Social, and Economic Forces, 1950-1957*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1958.

²⁸⁸ Trondal, Jarle. “Is There Any Social Constructivist-Institutionalist Divide? Unpacking Social Mechanisms Affecting Representational Roles among EU Decision-Makers.” *Journal of European Public Policy* 8, no. 1 (2001): p. 15.

²⁸⁹ Trondal, Jarle. “Beyond the EU Membership-Non-Membership Dichotomy? Supranational Identities among National EU Decision-Makers.” *Journal of European Public Policy* 9, no. 3 (2002): p. 479.

²⁹⁰ Cf. Beyers, Jan. “Multiple Embeddedness and Socialization in Europe: The Case of Council Officials.” *International Organization* 59, no. 4 (2005): 899–936.

EU foreigners. As expected, the EU group tends to be in favor of the above, whereas the non-EU group demonstrates a less integrationist view, especially when the opening-up of the Luxembourgish civil service is at stake.

Instrumental Europeanization, i.e. the benefit of EU integration for the domestic ministry, reveals the same result. The EU group, as expected, tends to confirm that EU membership has been advantageous for the domestic ministry, whereas the non-EU group is not sure whether or not it has been so. Asking participants whether their attitude towards the EU has changed in the course of their employment, national officials from the EU group show a very homogeneous response behavior compared to the non-EU group. The latter is dominated by national officials whose attitude has either not changed or has changed in a negative way. No shift in the attitude can be explained by the obvious fact that the officials from the non-EU group did not observe any changes in their work situation in relation to the EU membership and thus their attitude remained the same. More puzzling are the shifts in the attitude towards a negative one. This could possibly be explained by the indirect contact the officials from the non-EU group have with the EU and the European integration mainly through media criticizing the EU policy makers. These differences in the response behavior in EU and non-EU group reveal significant shifts in the attitudes and perceptions which, in turn, prove that some European socialization process might have affected national officials in Luxembourg.

Similarities between the two groups could be found regarding the analysis of the national officials' attitude and their perception of the domestic coordination system. As regards wider European attitudes, both the EU and non-EU groups revealed a pro-European tendency among national officials. The literature on European socialization includes a great many studies testing the attitude variable, especially the changes in the attitude of the political elite with a certain involvement in supranational organizations or institutions. Some researchers have investigated changes in attitudes in the socialization framework for permanent representatives or delegates working in the United Nations²⁹¹ based on the general assumption that:

“(...) socialization usually means that values, norms and role expectations have become internalized in individuals. New recruits arrive with perceptions and attitudes acquired over

²⁹¹ Cf. Peck, Richard. “Socialization of Permanent Representatives in the United Nations: Some Evidence.” *International Organization* 33, no. 03 (1979): 365–390; Siverson, Randolph M. “Role and Perception in International Crisis: The Cases of Israeli and Egyptian Decision Makers in National Capitals and the United Nations.” *International Organization* 27, no. 03 (1973): 329–345; Alger, Chadwick F. “United Nations Participation as a Learning Experience.” *Public Opinion Quarterly* 27, no. 3 (1963): 411–426.

the years in particular social, geographical and educational settings. With increasing length of service in a particular organization, they may, however become re-socialized.”²⁹²

Other studies have examined attitude change in the political elite involved in European institutions, e.g. European parliamentarians, by arguing that participation in the EU setting brings about attitude change, which is part of the integration process.²⁹³ The conclusions of these studies are, however, somewhat contradictory because some of the studies find evidence for socialization and others do not (they demonstrate a cognitive change but no affective change in attitudes). Moreover, little evidence was found for a negative attitude change regarding the international organization or institution.²⁹⁴ While failing to establish any consensus as to whether or not a change in attitudes occurs due to involvement in the respective institutional setting, all studies neglect the recruitment variable. It should be assumed that national officials or state representatives working for international organizations such as the EU or the UN are already biased in favor of the respective organization, otherwise it would be odd for national officials or state representatives to work in an international organization of which they disapprove.²⁹⁵ This possibly explains why the study presented in this thesis revealed different results concerning the change of attitude. While the EU group did not demonstrate any significant changes, the non-EU group manifests some negative changes. As regards the holding of pro-European attitudes, no relationship can be identified between EU involvement and pro-European attitudes in this study as both groups display the same kind of attitudes regardless of whether they are involved in EU affairs or not. This again may support the recruitment bias assumption, or it may also simply mean that a political elite seems to be pro-European in general, probably due to primary socialization processes or, at

²⁹² Egeberg, Morten. “An Organizational Approach to European Integration: Outline of a Complementary Perspective.” *European Journal of Political Research* 43, no. 2 (2004): p. 6.

²⁹³ Cf. Kerr, Henry. *Changing Attitudes through International Participation: European Parliamentarians and Integration*. Cambridge University Press, 1973; Riggs, Robert E. “One Small Step for Functionalism: UN Participation and Congressional Attitude Change.” *International Organization* 31, no. 03 (1977): 515–539; Smith, Keith A. “The European Economic Community and National Civil Servants of the Member States—A Comment.” *International Organization* 27, no. 4 (1973): 563–568; Pendergast, W.R. “Roles and Attitudes of French and Italian Delegates to the European Community.” *International Organization International Organization* 30 (1976): 669–677.

²⁹⁴ Cf. Martin, Lisa L., and Beth A. Simmons. “Theories and Empirical Studies of International Institutions.” *International Organization* 52:04, (1998): 729–757; Smith, Keith A. “The European Economic Community and National Civil Servants of the Member States—A Comment.” *International Organization* 27, no. 4 (1973): 563–568; Pendergast, W.R. “Roles and Attitudes of French and Italian Delegates to the European Community.” *International Organization International Organization* 30 (1976): 669–677.

²⁹⁵ Cf. Martin, Lisa L., and Beth A. Simmons. “Theories and Empirical Studies of International Institutions.” *International Organization* 52:04, (1998): 729–757; Beyers, Jan. “Multiple Embeddedness and Socialization in Europe: The Case of Council Officials.” *International Organization* 59, no. 4 (2005): 899–936; Egeberg, Morten. “Transcending Intergovernmentalism? Identity and Role Perceptions of National Officials in EU Decision-Making.” *Journal of European Public Policy* 6, no. 3 (1999): 456–474.

the very least, due to domestic pre-socialization as Beyers suggests in his study.²⁹⁶ In addition, there is evidence that officials from smaller member states display stronger pro-European attitudes in general than national officials from larger member states.²⁹⁷ Furthermore, the results of this study display a certain variation in their “pro-European” outlook in each group. The EU group, for example, places its emphasis on approving the creation of guidelines for the respective policy areas by the European Commission and national representatives. The non-EU group, however, lends stronger approval to strengthening the executive at EU level, i.e. EU institutions. Yet, the percentage differences in the answers are rather minimal and thus it can be concluded that both groups support actions to promote further European integration. As regards the perception of the domestic coordination system, a variable measuring the extent to which national officials suffer from information shortages while working on their dossiers has been proposed. The results show an almost identical pattern in both groups, i.e. information required to work on a dossier is never or only sometimes missing, which in turn indicates a relatively strong and efficient domestic coordination system. The second variable, measuring the frequency of instructions, indicates the intensity of instruction-giving in Luxembourg. While the literature suggests that weak instructions/coordination leads to the adoption of supranational role conceptions²⁹⁸, the case of Luxembourg displays a moderate intensity of instruction-givings, i.e. neither weak nor strong, and a strong tendency towards European socialization of national officials in Luxembourg.²⁹⁹ The idea of the quantitative study was to discover European socialization among Luxembourgish national officials. The overall results show strong pro-European attitude patterns of national civil servants, who are multiply embedded into EU affairs and cultivate contacts with national civil servants from other European countries. These first insights offered the possibility to systematically survey national officials during the interviews regarding everything related to their work at EU level such as their contact and professional ties with colleagues from other member states.

²⁹⁶ Cf. Beyers, Jan. “Multiple Embeddedness and Socialization in Europe: The Case of Council Officials.” *International Organization* 59, no. 4 (2005): 899–936.

²⁹⁷ Cf. Egeberg, Morten. “Transcending Intergovernmentalism? Identity and Role Perceptions of National Officials in EU Decision-Making.” *Journal of European Public Policy* 6, no. 3 (1999): 456–474.

²⁹⁸ Cf. Trondal, Jarle. “Beyond the EU Membership-Non-Membership Dichotomy? Supranational Identities among National EU Decision-Makers.” *Journal of European Public Policy* 9, no. 3 (2002): 468–487; Hooghe, Liesbet. “Supranational Activists or Intergovernmental Agents? Explaining the Orientations of Senior Commission Officials toward European Integration.” *Comparative Political Studies* 32, no. 4 (1999): 435–463; Beyers, Jan. “Multiple Embeddedness and Socialization in Europe: The Case of Council Officials.” *International Organization* 59, no. 4 (2005): 899–936.

²⁹⁹ Beyers uses the term “organizational self-esteem” in order to summarize the effects of weak coordination on the socialization process. The construct “organizational self-esteem” comprises different variables such as a) a perception of weak instructions, b) poor domestic coordination and c) policy preparation. If all these variables are low, i.e. the organizational self-esteem is low, it increases the likelihood of supranationalism among national officials.

3.3.2 Qualitative interviews

The method applied for the interviews of both topics was mainly born out of an interest in gaining new insights into 1.) How Luxembourg coordinates its EU policy and 2.) The European socialization of national officials in Luxembourg. Using mixed-method approaches in order to gain these new insights represents only one side of the coin. The other one is reflected in the fact, that I chose not to use classical evaluation methods such as ‘content analysis’ or ‘process tracing’ in order to evaluate my interview data, I rather see a reconstructive approach, which focus on the extraction of the sense of the text and not on previous categorization to be identified in the text, to be most advantageous for my research.

National officials from the EU group were selected for an interview on European socialization by ticking a corresponding box at the end of their questionnaire. They could express their interest in participating in an interview by simply ticking yes or no. It was explained to the respondents that the interview would discuss the topics treated in the questionnaire in more depth and would also offer the possibility of clarifying the questions and answers from the questionnaire. If they expressed an interest in an interview I arranged an appointment. In total, I interviewed 26 national officials from all ministries at national and European level. The interview was structured in a similar way to those for the first topic, except that I started by making further inquiries concerning ambiguities in the interviewees’ questionnaires.

Like the questionnaire for the national coordination of EU policy, this interview was also semi-structured. It contained 5 thematic blocks starting with the interviewee’s professional career to date and how they learned how EU-related work functions as well as key moments at EU level. The last part of the interview was dedicated to their everyday working life and assessed their attitude towards Europe and the European Union. The last section was optional as the data concerned had already been collected in the questionnaire. Apart from the questions about their attitude towards all things European, all other questions related to new, unresearched aspects of the European socialization of national officials. The interviews were evaluated using reconstructive interview analysis and process tracing. All interviewees were asked at the end of the interview process³⁰⁰ to sign a declaration granting me permission to use the interview material for my study.

³⁰⁰ All national officials interviewed, i.e. with regard to both the national coordination of EU policy and European socialization

3.3.2.1 Learning and adaptation processes at the individual level

The impact of European integration has already been analyzed in many ways. Its effects on the political elite, e.g. national civil servants who are involved with European dossiers either at national or European level, form the basis of research into European socialization. This aims to verify whether participation in the EU arena has an impact on national civil servants. As national officials are exposed to learning and adaptation processes as part of their professional activity, it can be assumed that these processes reflect the extent to which the respective individual has been socialized. As previous research has been rather outcome-oriented through its focus on quantitative methods, e.g. it has analyzed whether socialization has taken place and under which conditions, this chapter aims to adopt a new approach in order to analyze the topic of European socialization by attempting to find out more about the process of socialization. For this purpose, I primarily used qualitative methods. As socialization in general is about learning and adaptation processes, a legitimate question would be how national civil servants learn “the European way” and how they adapt. In order to find this out, it makes sense to examine the entire process of preparing national officials for EU-related work. The case of Luxembourg represents an interesting object for study because of its many varied characteristics and its long tradition within the European framework. Moreover, this member state has never yet been analyzed regarding any aspect of European socialization processes.

3.3.2.1.1 Organizational aspects

3.3.2.1.1.1 The role of Luxembourgish national officials

Luxembourgish national officials work on two levels: national and European. Their role is thus that of a multi-level player, who adopts a horizontal method of operation. In addition, Luxembourgish national officials have a lot of powers regarding European dossiers.³⁰¹ This is mainly due to the fact that Luxembourg has a chronic shortage of personnel in its public administration. That is the reason why a Luxembourgish national official has a lot of autonomy in handling a dossier but is also forced to use their own resources. This has its

³⁰¹ Cf. section 3.2.1.3.3 about the duties of a national official in Luxembourg

advantages as well as disadvantages as some national officials stated that very often they feel left behind:

“[...] wird es auch nie langweilig, weil man hier nie wirklich zweimal das Gleiche zu tun hat, weil immer wieder andere Sachen auftauchen, man viele kleine Probleme regeln muss, die in anderen Ländern vielleicht auf anderen Ebenen geregelt werden. Das führt aber auch dazu, dass man viel weniger Zeit hat um die Dossiers für z.B. Europa so genau bearbeiten zu können, wie man es eigentlich möchte. Aber es geht einfach nicht. Der Tag hat eben nur 24 Stunden und das ist ein bisschen problematisch. Also ich bin oft unzufrieden mit dem was ich gemacht bekomme, weil ich einfach nicht die Zeit dazu habe, es so zu machen, wie ich es eigentlich möchte, d.h. mit der Gründlichkeit und Tiefe.”³⁰²

Furthermore, the role of a national official implies socializing, as they are acting as correspondents for Luxembourg. In general, Luxembourgish national officials who are involved in EU affairs are expected to be more European than national-minded:

“Les fonctionnaires sont appelés dans leurs carrières, d’une façon ou d’une autre, à être plus proche du niveau européen que du niveau national.”³⁰³

It is particularly noticeable in this context that national officials of the higher civil service career track (*carrière supérieure*) are all involved in EU affairs.³⁰⁴

3.3.2.1.1.2 Defense of national interests – the negotiations

A substantial and essential part of the role of a national official is to defend national interests by participating in negotiations in Council Working Groups. On asking whether Luxembourgish national officials prioritize European or national interests during the negotiation phase, I received different responses. The majority of respondents answered that either the defense of national interests is more important or that both national and European interests have to be focused on in equal measure. Respondents whose priority was defending European interests were very much in the minority. The reason why Luxembourgish national officials prefer to focus on pursuing both the defense of national and European interests is

³⁰² Interview with National Official # 24, 3rd of October 2012.

³⁰³ Interview with National Official # 16, 17th of August 2012.

³⁰⁴ Cf. Interview with National Official # 15, 12th of July 2012.

mainly due to Luxembourg's geographic situation, which requires them to look beyond their own front door:

“Wir leben in einer Großregion. Selbstverständlich denke ich daran, was wir tun können, dass wir weiter in diesem Raum funktionieren.”³⁰⁵

Seen from this perspective, Luxembourgish national officials have to defend interests other than national ones. In order to represent common Luxembourgish interests, an efficient coordination of EU policy is necessary (cf. the chapter about the efficiency of Luxembourgish national coordination of EU policy). Therefore, the focus should be on the defense of a coherent position in negotiations. This is also guaranteed through inter-ministerial coordination mechanisms. In principle, Luxembourgish national officials are rather reserved in European negotiations and seek to find a compromise, unless a minister specifically desires to push his own point of view and interests. In this case, Luxembourg may face confrontation. Among the 28 member states, Luxembourg is a country that is respected and taken seriously by the other member states. If Luxembourg objects to an issue, the other member states listen to it.³⁰⁶ This is mainly because Luxembourg does a lot of lobbying at European level. Luxembourg's diplomatic strategy can be described as “la persuasion, la gentillesse et la diplomatie”³⁰⁷. Due to its size, it would not be reasonable for a country like Luxembourg to jeopardize European negotiations for the sake of defending its national interests.³⁰⁸ In general, Luxembourg is represented in European negotiations by its permanent representatives as experts only attend negotiations in the working groups if technical experts are required to solve problems or simply to support the permanent representatives.³⁰⁹

³⁰⁵ Interview with National Official # 20, 19th of July 2012.

³⁰⁶ cf. Interview with National Official # 36, 17th of August 2012.

³⁰⁷ Interview with National Official # 34, 23rd of August 2012.

³⁰⁸ cf. Interview with National Official # 36, 17th of August 2012.

³⁰⁹ cf. Interview with National Official # 28, 19th of July 2012.

3.3.2.1.1.3 The number of member states

As has often been mentioned in the literature, the enlargement of the EU with the admission of ten new member states had several significant effects on the social fabric of the European arena. On the one hand, the more member states entered the arena, the slower everything became. On the other, the more member states that attend EU negotiations, the greater the number and diversity of their interests, which in turn makes it difficult to find a common denominator at a political level. In addition, some interviewees reported that communicating with other member states and EU institutions such as the European Commission was easier before the enlargement than afterwards and that working relationships had been much more personal:

“Bei 27 Mitgliedsstaaten hat man das Gefühl, dass man jeden nicht mehr so gut kennt.”³¹⁰

3.3.2.1.1.4 Key skills for work at the European level

National officials working at European level should possess certain key skills: intercultural and linguistic skills. Most respondents regard linguistic skills as more important than intercultural skills. Based on the statements of my interviewees, the kind of intercultural competence that is necessary for work at European level requires firstly openness and secondly tolerance. Based on their experiences, it is vital for a national official to communicate with national officials from other member states. As each national official from all 28 member states brings their own ideas to discussions in the Council Working Groups, this situation can only be managed successfully if there is openness to the ideas of others and their acceptance. Tolerance is also very useful in finding compromises. In terms of language, English has now established itself as the lingua franca at European level. This is due in part to the EU enlargement as, prior to this event: English, French and German were the three main languages within the EU arena. German has lost significance in the course of the last few decades, leaving French and English; English, however, now predominates since the

³¹⁰ Interview with National Official # 17, 5th of July 2012.

accession of the ten new Eastern European member states. However, the English language as spoken at European level is not English in its original form; rather, it represents a kind of “Euro-English” – more so a jargon that differs from the original English language because of all its specific (invented) technical terms.³¹¹

3.3.2.1.1.5 The EU arena in Brussels

In order to investigate the European socialization processes affecting national officials, it is necessary to examine the conditions at EU level. On the one hand, this concerns EU institutions with which temporary or permanent national officials are working together. On the other, it is important to distinguish between national officials that work permanently at EU level and those that only work temporarily and are present at EU level and in the EU institutions. The national officials working in the Permanent Representation of Luxembourg are European specialists, with considerable experience and a track record in European negotiations. National officials working at European level are also very reactive compared to their domestic colleagues. Although the principal task of the national officials working in the Permanent Representation is to represent Luxembourgish national interests, they may over the years have forgotten what is possible and feasible in Luxembourg and what is not. This is because national officials in the Luxembourgish administration are in post for a long period of time, either at national or European level. Being involved permanently over years at European level and not at national can lead to discrepancies at national level:

“Les fonctionnaires européens ne réalisent pas toujours ce qu’il est possible ou non de mettre en œuvre dans un petit état membre comme le Luxembourg par exemple, lorsqu’ils nous demandent comment nous avons implémenté une mesure au niveau national, régional et local, alors qu’il n’existe chez nous qu’un seul niveau.”³¹²

Another difference between the national officials at the two levels that is important for the investigation of European Socialization processes is that national officials working on a permanent basis in Brussels have better and closer contact with national officials from other

³¹¹ cf. Interview with National Official # 20, 19th of July 2012.

³¹² Interview with National Official # 33, 1st of July 2012.

member states than those working at national level do. Daily contact and exchange provides a basis for a better understanding of one another, which facilitates the socializing process in a European context as temporary national officials are only present for the meeting of the working group and have to take the train back to Luxembourg right after the meeting, so that there is no scope for socializing with colleagues from other member states. During the interviews, interviewees mentioned a “Brussels dynamic” that is specific and that originates from the frequency of participation. The more a national official attends working groups at EU level, the more the Brussels dynamic is triggered. Another important aspect regarding work in the EU arena is contact, exchange and collaboration with the EU institutions:

“Les institutions européennes sont devenues clefs mais la commission est l’institution la plus présente quotidiennement dans les activités qu’on occupe [à Bruxelles] et dans la Capitale.”³¹³

According to the statement by one national official, a sort of centralization has taken place in Brussels in the last few years in the sense that the role of the European Commission has become more central regarding the daily administration of national budgets.³¹⁴ The European Commission started to act as autonomous actor and act for its own “European” interests in each individual meeting. The commission performs very confidently and is claiming increasing powers. Some national officials have even called it the “dogma of the Commission” as, in their eyes, the Commission more or less does what it wants by rigorously pursuing its aims. Luxembourgish national officials regard this behavior as problematic as it makes cooperation and collaboration with the Commission rather difficult in the same way as the opacity that predominates within the European Commission does.

3.3.2.1.1.6 Working procedures

What happens at a meeting of a Council Working Group? Certainly, the way in which a CWG meeting proceeds can vary from group to group and from policy area to policy area. However, most of the meetings take place in a round table format. As a general rule, the necessary documents for the meeting are sent to each participant beforehand. After the opening session

³¹³ Interview with National Official # 16, 17th of August 2012.

³¹⁴ cf. Ibid.

led by the president or chairman of the meeting, an exchange between the member states takes place, with each presenting his or her national position one after the other. At the end of these presentations, the European Commission speaks. In a next step, each participant, representing either a member state or the European Commission, can respond to earlier statements and contribute his or her own individual ideas. In general, there are two different types of meetings: there are those in which the focus does not lie in exchange among member states but rather between the national official that represents his or her country and the president of the meeting; equally, there are working groups that focus on exchanging expert knowledge. In these working groups, experts from the respective member state present their knowledge on a certain topic, before all the information or expert knowledge is brought together and discussed by the participants.

In principle, there is a tendency among certain member states to talk very often and/or for a long time compared to other member states, which are quite reserved. Member states discuss dossiers before the meeting and/or during the breaks in order to scope out possible coalition-building. In preparation of the meeting, the president of the CWG sends the agenda via e-mail. If a representative wants to express his or her opinion, he or she can do so. Not submitting a response signifies their agreement with the procedure proposed or discussed by the president or the Commission. Therefore, the procedure applied in the CWG is not very formal. Meetings in Council Working Groups tend to represent a place where socialization can take place. Even though the exchange between member states during the meeting is not very active, meetings at EU level do offer a framework. In this “institutional” framework socialization rules are determined and developed, e.g. how to interpret verbal statements and silence. Even informal meetings before the meetings themselves or in the breaks represent moments of socializing, in which for example newcomers learn how to communicate with colleagues from other member states and possibly also negotiate. National officials are introduced into the European social fabric.

3.3.2.1.1.7 Informal meetings

As already mentioned, some national officials reported that informal meetings take place regularly; these have different functions. On the one hand, informal meetings that take place

before the main meetings are designed to agree matters with other member states, e.g. to negotiate so-called package deals but also to assure the support of allied member states during the meeting. On the other hand, breaks throughout day-long meetings are predominantly used for networking and for scoping out new allies, but also to discuss in more detail the dossier being tackled during the meeting, or other topics not covered in the meeting.³¹⁵ Another reason to look for exchange in the breaks can be due to problems that have occurred with the discussed texts and for which one tries to find solutions by, for example, making compromises. However, Luxembourgish national officials are also very often used as translators in the breaks as they speak several languages.³¹⁶

3.3.2.1.1.8 Rituals and traditions

In order to gain more insights into the process of socialization of Luxembourgish national officials at European level, it is important to focus on rituals and traditions that have evolved at European level. Rituals and traditions are, so to speak, one of the results of the socialization process as they represent moments of socialization while also preserving what has been created during the socialization process.

According to my interviewees, one of the most important rituals and traditions during EU-related work is having a meal – either lunch or dinner – with colleagues. They are called “social dinners”³¹⁷ or “cultural dinners”³¹⁸ and have several functions: they serve to enhance networking, to exchange ideas and opinions with colleagues and to talk about different aspects and topics regarding the current meeting:

“Privilegierter Moment um mit Kollegen zu reden und sich umzuhören wie die verschiedenen Sachen bei sich intern geregelt werden, wo die Probleme liegen und welche Anweisungen sie bekommen haben.”³¹⁹

Shared meals thus have a functional character while discussing work in a relaxed atmosphere. Another function, at work here is the socializing function as contact and exchange lead to greater familiarity with one another. This can increase understanding for the interests but also the difficulties of member states, and thus improves collaboration:

³¹⁵ Cf. Interview with National Official # 13, 25th of July 2012.

³¹⁶ Cf. Interview with National Official # 24, 3rd of October 2012.

³¹⁷ Interview with National Official # 22, 18th of July 2012.

³¹⁸ Interview with National Official # 23, 25th of June 2012.

³¹⁹ Interview with National Official # 24, 3rd of October 2012.

“Besseres Kennenlernen wirkt sich positiv auf heikle Situation aus, denn man geht nicht gleich auf Konfrontation.“³²⁰

Those national officials who have to travel back to Luxembourg after meetings have less of an opportunity to participate in a cultural or social dinner and thus less chance of becoming socialized at European level compared to their colleagues from the Permanent Representation:

“[...] Ils vous apportent quotidiennement beaucoup de choses les collègues européens parce qu’ils vous apportent leurs visions, leurs façons de voir, leurs conceptions de nouvelles idées. [...] je teste très régulièrement un certain nombre d’idées avec l’un ou l’autre collègue avec lequel j’ai plus d’affinité que d’autres [...] Quand vous êtes dans cette position comme moi très longtemps, vous faites des amis parce que vous avez aussi d’autres qui restent très longtemps dans des positions et donc j’ai développé des amitiés avec eux et parfois on se voit même en dehors du travail. Vous avez un certain nombre de choses [...] je dirais..ils m’apportent comme moi je leurs ai apporté aussi un certain nombre de choses. Il y a un vrai échange qui se fait.“³²¹

Even though some Luxembourgish national officials did not perceive any differences regarding rituals and traditions at national and European level, there are, however, small ceremonial traditions, that have become common during EU meetings, such as the fact that the change from one presidency to another is always celebrated with a drink and specialties from the country that holds the EU presidency.³²² In some groups, the ritual includes a welcome coffee, which allows for networking, or a shared meal during the last session at the end of the year, to which national officials from each country bring delicacies from their home country.³²³ As far as the linguistic aspects are concerned, the most reliable tradition revolves around the time interpreters stop working for the day or take their breaks punctually. Once this has happened, the language of the meeting changes from the respective national language into English. The English language has grown to become the most used language within the EU arena. The predominance of the English is reflected in the fact that first names are used in order to address colleagues. This is very typical of English, whereby we can actually discern a sort of Euro-Anglophone socialization of national officials.

³²⁰ Interview with National Official # 23, 25th of June 2012.

³²¹ Interview with National Official # 16, 17th of August 2012.

³²² Cf. Interview with National Official # 25, 17th of August 2012.

³²³ Cf. Interview with National Official # 24, 3rd of October 2012.

3.3.2.1.1.9 Working atmosphere

Although the working atmosphere in each working group is perceived differently by each national official, generally positive pattern can be observed. The majority of officials describe the working atmosphere as pleasant, stress-free, interesting and positive, with just a few exceptions by national officials who perceive it as functional, uninspiring and unemotional.³²⁴ Communication within the working groups is characterized by a concrete exchange of opinions through negotiation and thus creates a cooperative working atmosphere. The discussions tend to be directional discussions (“Richtungsdiskussionen”) and, while discussing topics, participants remain objective. At an interpersonal level, the working atmosphere is generally regarded as acceptable. However, this working atmosphere has deteriorated since the EU enlargement in 2004. Although each representative of its country is present in order to defend their national interests, some national officials reported that there is a “common feeling”, a sort of feeling of togetherness because one tries to find common solutions for common problems³²⁵:

“Es sind ja alle wegen der gleichen Sache da.”³²⁶

This does not only concern the defense of national interests but also of European interests. Especially if the 28 member states are faced with non-European partners it is very likely that “a feeling of force and unity” will emerge among the 28 European member states.³²⁷ Moreover, Council Working Groups are characterized by rare disagreements and a high degree of compromise. On the one hand, the European Union has to act like this, as it would not otherwise be able to keep up with its international partners. On the other hand, there are disadvantages such as the progressive dilution of rules within the EU. If any disagreement occurs during a meeting of a Council Working Group, it is very likely that the discussion will be continued in the Council of Ministers. National officials did not report any big conflicts during the meetings, although there can be tension among member states. However, the actual atmosphere in each working group is strongly dependent on the participants and cannot be

³²⁴ Cf. Interview with National Official # 27, 12th of July 2012.

³²⁵ Cf. Interview with National Official # 24, 3rd of October 2012; Interview with National Official # 25, 17th of August 2012.

³²⁶ Interview with National Official # 25, 17th of August 2012.

³²⁷ Cf. Interview with National Official # 14, 5th of July 2012.

generalized as there are different kinds of groups, e.g. the atmosphere will vary from group to group.

3.3.2.1.1.10 Exchange, communication, networking

Luxembourgish national officials mainly exchange ideas and opinions on their dossiers with like-minded colleagues, e.g. either national officials that work on European dossiers at the national level or national officials working at the Permanent Representation in Brussels. There is also an exchange with colleagues from other member states, as they often understand best about the respective dossier. In most cases, there are always the same national officials in the council working groups. This offers possibilities to build friendships in the long term, which can be regarded as a positive effect resulting from the collaboration. Most national officials reported that relationships with colleagues from other member states at European level are often closer than those at professional level, particularly because they have known each other for a long time and often have the same conversations, so that each knows the other's priorities and thought processes from experience. Communication is therefore easier. The personal aspect at European level is very important. Nevertheless, the intensity of contact varies from working group to working group as each group is different, just as in each group there is a different atmosphere. This is why some national officials reported that contact with colleagues from other member states is purely professional. However, there are a lot of national officials participating in Council Working Groups with a very good atmosphere and intense contact among participants. In this case, those who do not belong to the Permanent Representation often regret that they do not work permanently in Brussels. Thanks to technical innovations like the Internet, it has become much easier for national officials to establish and maintain contact with colleagues from other member states. The main communication medium is e-mail.³²⁸ As a basic principle, small groups form within working groups, through which each member states look for like-minded colleagues who think similarly and pursue the same interests:

³²⁸ Cf. Interview with National Official # 19, 2nd of August 2012; Interview with National Official # 23, 25th of June 2012.

“Also das hat mit der Logik des Ganzen zu tun, wie man sich versteht und man geht seine Allianzen dorthin suchen wo jemand findet, der versteht was man meint!”³²⁹

Luxembourg has permanent and very close contact with its geographical neighbors but also with the other founding member states. Exchange with these partners takes place not only within the framework of Council Working Group meetings but also between the respective Permanent Representations or technical committees and Council Working Groups, e.g. Luxembourg maintains contact with countries that try to be as open as possible.

3.3.2.1.1.11 EU-related work vs. national work

Work at European level has become deep-rooted in each member state of the EU. Especially in Luxembourg, where most national dossiers are connected with European dossiers, there is a snowballing effect:

“Les lois se font pour la plupart pour presque 90% au niveau européen.”³³⁰

It also emerged that EU-related work can be advantageous for national policy purposes as some national political projects can be more easily achieved through European membership than purely at national level. Essentially, there remain some significant differences between EU-related and national work. A national official working on EU dossiers is always confronted with the complexity of EU-related work as they have a dual role. National officials working at EU level have to report everything happening in Brussels to their domestic ministry while also needing to convince counterparts at the national level in part. This dual role thus consists in the fact that the national official in question defends national interests at EU level and European interests at national level. However, the two levels differ inasmuch as EU-related work requires cross-border thinking as the geographical area of the European Union vastly exceeds the national one. At a technical level, there are some further variations. For example, the voting procedure at EU level differs from that at national level in that the European voting procedure simply does not exist at national level. Similarly, the EU

³²⁹ Interview with National Official # 20, 19th of July 2012.

³³⁰ Interview with National Official # 32, 19th of August 2012.

bureaucracy is nowhere near as complex at national level as it is at European level. At European level, there are specific procedures and differing interests due to the high number of member states, which again leads to differing feedback in meetings. Luxembourgish national officials also report that EU-related work is never boring as it is eclectic and they never have to do the same work twice. Those national officials that attend Council Working Groups in Brussels only temporarily work quite long busy days. EU-related work mainly consists in preparing for meetings, and participating in different studies as well as completing questionnaires and exchanging information. In the case of Luxembourg, another difference lies in the fact that the work at national level is much more informal than at EU level³³¹ and that is the reason why matters at national level are dealt with more quickly compared to the slow speed at European level.

3.3.2.1.1.12 Added value of the EU

Questioning Luxembourgish national officials regarding the extent to which their EU-related work represents added value for them elicits a wide range of responses. For some, the added value lies in exchanging information. For others, “European” compromises that are negotiated at the European level are highly significant. Furthermore, most national officials only find EU-related work enriching, especially exchanges with colleagues from other member states.

3.3.2.1.2 The beginning of the European socialization of national officials

Talking about socialization automatically implies a long-term process that essentially begins very early on. In addition to questions of where and how European socialization takes place, a further important aspect is the question of when exactly the process starts and when it ends. In the course of my interviews with Luxembourgish national officials, I found out that European socialization per se begins as early as at school (primary and secondary education), and at the latest during one’s training, studies or entry into the civil service. Certainly, it can be assumed that national officials are socialized during their work at EU level. However, the reports collected during my interviews with Luxembourgish national officials give the impression

³³¹ This concerns particularly collaboration with EU institutions.

that European socialization takes place before the national officials enter the civil service. Similar observations were made by a study about Belgian national officials and their European socialization³³², which discovered that national factors more so than European ones are responsible for the effects of European socialization.

3.3.2.1.3.1 Primary and secondary education, studies and training

According to the statements by my interviewees, the European idea is conveyed as early as at Luxembourgish primary and secondary schools. In this context, the EU is strongly politicized with the EU hymn included in singing classes.³³³ Some of the national officials interviewed especially those with a diplomatic background had already had intense contact with European topics during their studies or training. The majority of these national officials graduated either in subjects that were related to some extent to EU affairs or in European Studies at the Collège d'Europe in Bruges. At university, most of them had several semesters of courses in which they learned the basics of the EU and how it functions, focusing particularly on EU institutions and political and decision-making processes at EU level. Hence the training phase furnishes the basics of EU affairs and lays the foundations for understanding the mechanisms at EU level.³³⁴ According to one interviewee, these basics are vital for the work done at EU level as it is important to understand how the EU functions in order to approach the EU in the right way. However, some national officials claimed that EU studies do not necessarily reflect reality. EU studies at university are rather conceptual in nature and the work at EU level is more practical and provides critical insight.³³⁵ This refers to the well-known difference between theory and practice.

³³² Cf. Beyers, Jan. "Multiple Embeddedness and Socialization in Europe: The Case of Council Officials." *International Organization* 59, no. 4 (2005): 899–936.

³³³ Cf. Interview with National Official # 14, 5th of July 2012.

³³⁴ Cf. Interview with National Official # 19, 2nd of August 2012.

³³⁵ Cf. Interview with National Official # 25, 17th of August 2012.

3.3.2.1.3.2 Initial skill adaptation training in the ministry

Each national official starting work in Luxembourg's public administration has to pass the state examination in order to be tenured. This training takes two years but can be reduced to one year. At the end of the second year, the state examination takes place. During the two years, national officials work full time and attend evening courses at the national education institute (INAP). These courses represent more or less the 'internal' training in the state. Moreover, each trainee has a "patron de stage" and has to complete an internship during the training. Another characteristic of the training is the courses about the EU. First and foremost, these are rather judicial in nature as they teach national officials EU law and how the EU and its institutions function. Once a national official has passed the exam, which is quadrilingual³³⁶, they apply for vacancies in the respective ministry just as in the private sector. As language skills are very important, especially for work at EU level, national officials have to possess these when they enter the public administration. Once a national official has found employment in a ministry, the initial skill adaptation training begins. Although the national official does not need any prior experience at EU level, it can be helpful for the initial skill adaptation training in the ministry. In the Luxembourgish public administration, there is no general training for new national officials or any special training to prepare them for EU-related work. According to my interviewees, the training is characterized by the motto 'learning by doing', e.g. national officials simply go to Brussels and attend (Council) Working Group meetings. There is no organized structure to prepare national officials systematically:

"Comment il faut faire un compromis ? Ça se vit ! On le sent. Il y a la recette et il y a le gâteau. Vous n'avez toujours pas dans le gâteau ce que vous avez dans la recette!"³³⁷

However, national officials that are only temporarily employed to reinforce the team in the Permanent Representation during the EU presidency, for example, represent exceptional cases in terms of preparation for EU-related work. Since taking on the EU presidency in 2005, Luxembourg has prepared these national officials with a special crash course for the EU presidency, focusing particularly on preparing officials for EU meetings and the EU

³³⁶ State examinations are in Luxembourgish, English, French and German.

³³⁷ Interview with National Official # 33, 1st of July 2012.

presidency.³³⁸ However, this concerns only those national officials that are new members of the Permanent Representation team. In all other cases, new colleagues are inducted into their new role by their predecessors and/or the responsible superior:

“On a des collègues qui expliquent comment examiner un document du Conseil, pourquoi il y a un code là pourquoi il y a une référence là et puis progressivement on vous dit ce que vous devez faire.”³³⁹

Senior colleagues or colleagues from the Permanent Representation in Brussels also often explain to new employees how EU-related work functions. Hence Luxembourgish national officials learn from their senior colleagues through knowledge transfer. Moreover, superiors give advice on how to handle each member state so that they can learn in the long-term what each member state is like and what their interests are:

“Il n’y a pas de manuel du parfait fonctionnaire à Bruxelles. Il y a peu d’instruction. On est obligé finalement d’une certaine façon de se créer un peu ses propres instructions qui doivent coller à être en ligne avec le gouvernement que vous représentez et avec des sensibilités que vous représentez.”³⁴⁰

3.3.2.1.3.3 INAP – Institut National d’Administration Publique

The INAP is a public institution, in which national officials attend either courses that are required for their training (state examination) or as part of advanced training. The courses at INAP are compulsory for national officials and are part of the basic education for tenured civil servants. INAP offers a wide range of courses relating to EU affairs that are required by national officials, such as courses about the different competencies within EU law, courses referring to the implementation of EU directives in European law and courses about the different functions of EU institutions. In principle, national officials learn the structure of EU mechanisms during the courses from the European Council to the purpose of the working groups. INAP also offers courses as further training. Although it is the responsibility of the

³³⁸ Cf. Interview with National Official # 15, 12th of July 2012.

³³⁹ Interview with National Official # 16, 17th of August 2012

³⁴⁰ Ibid.

national public administration to train their civil servants, there are other possibilities for Luxembourgish national officials to educate themselves outside Luxembourg, e.g. at European level. One possibility is offered by the ERA in Trier (Germany)³⁴¹ or the EIPA in Maastricht (Netherlands)³⁴² or the Collège d'Europe in Bruges (Belgium)³⁴³. Other training possibilities are offered by the EEAS³⁴⁴ in Brussels itself. The courses on offer are targeted primarily at national officials with a diplomatic background and cover topics such as “International Negotiation in Compromise Building”. Language courses are not part of the advanced training on offer at either national or European level. Anyone looking to improve their language skills, has to do it on their own initiative.

3.3.2.1.3.4 Language training

As concerns linguistic aspects, Luxembourg is a special case. Luxembourgish national officials grow up in a multilingual setting and speak four languages fluently: Luxembourgish, German, French and English.³⁴⁵ Therefore, they do not have any linguistic problems at EU level. In fact, the opposite tends to be the case: their multilingual skills put them at an advantage compared to their colleagues from other member states. However, these advantages are not the only feature of Luxembourgish national officials. Multilingual skills also form part of and characterize Luxembourg's mediating role among the member states of the EU.

³⁴¹ Academy of European Law, www.era.int

³⁴² The European Institute of Public Administration, <http://www.eipa.nl/>

³⁴³ College of Europe Bruges, <http://www.coleurope.eu/>

³⁴⁴ European External Action Service, http://eeas.europa.eu/index_en.htm

³⁴⁵ German is taught for 12 years, French is taught for 10 years and English for 5 years.

3.3.2.1.3.5 Intercultural training/Intercultural competence

The work at European level brings each member state face to face with the ‘otherness’ of all the other member states and their cultural peculiarities. Therefore and with regard to European socialization processes, it is interesting to investigate the extent to which some form of intercultural training is part of their socialization at European level and to what extent Luxembourgish national officials are prepared systematically for contact with other member states. Some national officials reported that they received a form of intercultural training during their school education, such as participation in a European School. The bulk of respondents, however, indicated that there was no particular intercultural training for Luxembourg’s citizens in general or for its national officials in particular. The majority of interviewees hold the view that intercultural sensitization takes place during primary socialization in the Luxembourgish case, e.g. Luxembourgers grow up with intercultural understanding. One of the reasons for this situation is the high percentage of foreigners living in Luxembourg. Plenty of Luxembourgers have more than one nationality and thus also more than one identity.³⁴⁶ In the case of Luxembourg, this results in an intercultural dialogue, which is already there because the Luxembourgers are, so to speak, interculturally sensitized by nature. This ‘automatic’ intercultural sensitization is reinforced by Luxembourgish multilingualism and the fact that young people in Luxembourg used to have to leave the country in order to study at university. This situation has changed since Luxembourg has set up its own university. Moreover, it is possible that intercultural training courses are offered and incorporated at secondary school or within the framework of a language course. The very fact that Luxembourgish representatives participate in European-level meetings has led to a process of intercultural sensitization. Through contact and exchange with colleagues from other member states, national officials get a feel for which aspects are important and which are not as they seem to know the different European cultures and practices.³⁴⁷

³⁴⁶ Cf. Interview with National Official # 31, 21st of July 2012; Interview with National Official # 25, 17th of August 2012.

³⁴⁷ Cf. with National Official # 25, 17th of August 2012.

One exception to this is represented by the ten new member states from Eastern Europe, which are part of the “new Europe” and to whom national officials from the ‘old Europe’ have little in common with colleagues from Western European countries.³⁴⁸

3.3.2.1.3 How Luxembourgish national officials perceive Europe

One of the main research focuses in European socialization research is the analysis of the attitude, identity and moral concepts of national officials. They are important because they shed light on whether and to what extent European socialization has taken place. The more European the attitude of a national civil servant is, the more it can be asserted that European socialization has taken place. Seen from this perspective, European socialization is measured on the basis of the internal processes inherent to national officials. In this context, the indicator is represented by a positive feeling towards Europe and the European Union, e.g. the more positive an attitude towards Europe, the more European the attitude and the more it can be regarded as proof that European socialization has taken place. Therefore, the interviewing of Luxembourgish national officials was designed to gain new insights into the process of socialization at a European level and into what exactly Europe means for national officials and how it affects them. The knowledge of how Luxembourgish national officials or national officials in general perceive and categorize EU values, attitudes and identities provides an idea of how European integration affects individuals.

³⁴⁸ Cf. Interview with National Official # 13, 25th of July 2012.

3.3.2.1.3.1 EU values

Asking Luxembourgish national officials to describe EU values elicits some very different responses. Some national officials think that there is no general agreement within the EU in terms of which values are core values of the European Union³⁴⁹. Others argue that there is no such thing as “EU values”. Indeed, there are values in the EU member states and, even though the respective member states share similar or the same values, it does not mean that these values are EU values.³⁵⁰ A further interviewee remarked critically that Europe is a slave and a lot of values have now become lost because of the increasing focus on economic aspects at the expense of preserving values. Although it is important that the economic system is functional, the loss of this focus on cultural values are being ignored.³⁵¹ However, some national officials were able to name the EU values. One important core value in the EU is to help one another, e.g. there emerges a sort of solidarity once a problem arises.³⁵² Another important value of the EU is tolerance and common ground as the EU member states grow together and in the meantime profit from one another. From a historical perspective, EU values have been emerging in Europe since the Greeks and Romans and are a continuing evolution. European values are represented both by the values of the Enlightenment and human rights and an openness to critique and criticism as well as the values of an open-minded society. As there are so many traditions within the European cultures, one of the most important EU values is the integration of the various different nationalities³⁵³. From an economic perspective, it is important for the EU economy to grow. In spite of all these features that are said to characterize EU values, how values are conveyed depends on the topic. Even though the values that my interviewees have listed appear ambiguous, they nevertheless indicate a tendency towards European values.

³⁴⁹ Cf. Discussion about the charter of core values within the EU

³⁵⁰ Cf. Interview with National Official # 29, 21st of July 2012; Interview with National Official # 19, 2nd of August 2012.

³⁵¹ Cf. Interview with National Official # 24, 3rd of October 2012.

³⁵² Cf. Interview with National Official # 23, 25th of June 2012.

³⁵³ Cf. Interview with National Official # 31, 21st of July 2012.

3.3.2.1.3.2 European attitude

Once one questions how a person would describe an ideal European attitude, it actually indicates their own attitude. So what exactly is a European attitude? What makes up a European attitude and what are its features?

According to my Luxembourgish interviewees, a European attitude consists of a multitude of skills that mirror the EU values already identified. One element of a European attitude is showing tolerance, respect towards other cultures and an acceptance of diversity in the EU. It is also important to be able to listen to others and try to understand other people as well as learning not to think in terms of borders and showing a willingness to compromise. This means ceasing to think of oneself and being willing to plan and anticipate together as well as being ready to do everything for Europe and not think only of nation states so that a common path can be followed. In other words, one thinks in a 'European' way, for Europe and focusing on European goals. In order to realize this, there must essentially be an interest in the EU and an understanding about how it and its institutions work. A national official with a European attitude is characterized by his or her ability to discuss controversial issues and exchange opinions and ideas. All those features can generally be divided into two categories: solidarity and frankness. A European attitude means quality and awareness:

“[...] die europäische Einstellung wäre dann das Bewusstsein in einer Gemeinschaft zu leben, die gemeinsame Interessen in der jetzigen Welt hat.[...] Natürlich eine Offenheit [...] für die europäischen Kulturen und ja ich glaube hauptsächlich Verständnis über was jetzt Europa ist, wie Europa funktioniert und auch ein Einverständnis mit diesen, mit den Zielsetzungen Europas, auch wenn diese nicht immer dieselben auch historisch sind und sich auch weiterentwickeln, aber eine Grundeinstellung zu den gemeinsamen Zielsetzungen.”³⁵⁴

National officials, member states, and individual populations within the 28 member states that display those abilities and readiness not only make a common future possible but also ensure that the chapter of warfare in Europe can be closed for ever.³⁵⁵ This way of thinking is consistent with the idea inherent to the community method as one national official indicated that it is important to thump the European unitary but rather common interests and that one can achieve and grow more in joint collaboration.³⁵⁶ Hence, national civil servants with an

³⁵⁴ Interview with National Official # 22, 18th of July 2012.

³⁵⁵ Cf. Interview with National Official # 15, 12th of July 2012.

³⁵⁶ Cf. Interview with National Official # 25, 17th of August 2012.

attitude that is characterized by the features described above display a European attitude. However, the interviews did not indicate when exactly Luxembourgish national officials started to develop a European attitude of this nature. Does the evolution take place at the national or European level? Or does the national ministry recruit national officials who already possess a European attitude? Even though some questions remain unanswered, it can be concluded that the process of formation of a European attitude is strongly related to the process of European socialization.

3.3.2.1.3.3 European identity

The results of the research concerning EU identity and its definition are as diverse as the answers to EU values and EU attitude. The minority assumes that there is no such thing as an EU identity in the public mindset.³⁵⁷ The majority, however, affirms the existence of a European identity. For some national civil servants it only exists at EU level, e.g. in the microcosm of Brussels there is something like a common identity. For others, the European identity represents an identity that co-exists alongside regional and national identities and is overlaid by them.³⁵⁸ In this sense, there is no unitary identity in Europe but rather a European identity composed of different identities:

“Ich fühle mich als Europäer aber nicht in dem Sinne, dass für mich jetzt jeder gleich ist und dass nicht jeder seine eigenen kulturellen und sonstigen und auch politischen Identitäten weiter behalten sollte.”³⁵⁹

Luxembourgish national officials identify with the European identity more than non-EU member states because compared to them, they feel European. The European culture area has

³⁵⁷ Cf. Interview with National Official # 19, 2nd of August 2012.

³⁵⁸ Cf. Interview with National Official # 26, 21st of July 2012; Interview with National Official # 17, 5th of July 2012.

³⁵⁹ Interview with National Official # 17, 5th of July 2012.

a western identity, which can be termed a European (continental) identity.³⁶⁰ Asking how Luxembourgish national officials would define an EU identity, I receive very complex responses. An EU identity would manifest itself in the feeling that one can achieve something together, that one is open-minded concerning the European idea and promotes transnational interests. It would be a community of countries that pursues joint interest, is willing to work together economically and to exchange culturally.³⁶¹ Moreover, a European identity is marked by tolerance, diversity and plurality³⁶² as well as having countries work together regarding one issue and advocating:

“[Europäische Identität, K.H.] ist nicht eins, sondern ein Puzzlestück, das irgendwie zusammengehört, ein Ensemble von verschiedenen Identitäten.“³⁶³

Similarly, one important feature of the European identity is the fact that Europe has been at peace for the last 60 years and the current generation is the first to grow up in a Europe without war.³⁶⁴ The European identity is thus made up of the national origin and history as well as the humanistic arrangement of ideas and traditions within the European area. Luxembourgers, for their part, see themselves as Europeans.

³⁶⁰ Cf. Interview with National Official # 27, 12th of July 2012.

³⁶¹ Cf. Interview with National Official # 25, 17th of August 2012.

³⁶² Cf. Interview with National Official # 35, 25th of July 2012.

³⁶³ Interview with National Official # 15, 12th of July 2012.

³⁶⁴ Cf. Interview with National Official # 17, 5th of July 2012.

3.3.2.1.3.4 Impact of EU work on attitude

Questioning whether national civil servants possess a European attitude attempts to find out whether EU integration is leaving its mark on the political elite that work day in, day out in the EU environment. To what extent does European integration affect the attitude of national officials from each member state? Does the European attitude described in 2.3.2 represent at the same time a consequence of work at EU level?

The majority of respondents have seen a shift in attitude since they started working at EU level. Two national civil servants regard the change as positive because one gets a better understanding of the EU and its institutions through working at European level. The bulk of respondents, however, remain neutral:

“Mon regard est évidemment plus critique aujourd’hui qu’il n’y était il y a dix ans [...] mon regard sur l’Europe et sur les institutions ont évidemment changé parce que j’ai appris énormément de choses.”³⁶⁵

Similarly, other national officials related the same experience, which is characterized by a shift in attitude and personal opinion in terms of EU issues and which occurred due to their participation at EU level. Furthermore, the understanding for all EU procedures has been improved through participation.

Finally, it remains difficult to judge whether a national official has become a committed European exclusively due to his or her EU-related work.³⁶⁶ It is certainly possible that the initial skill adaptation training and the study phase contribute considerably to the molding of a European attitude, which evolves thanks to active participation at EU level and the initial skill adaptation training.

³⁶⁵ Interview with National Official # 16, 17th of August 2012.

³⁶⁶ Cf. Interview with National Official # 15, 12th of July 2012.

3.3.2.2 Summary

Based on the interviews conducted regarding questions about the process of European socialization, it is clear that the results will not address how and when the process as such takes place. The interviews and their results shall instead serve to gain more insight into how and when the process takes place. Moreover, the European socialization process cannot be examined within or with one single study; rather, longitudinal projects or approaches would be able to capture the process or at least parts of it, from which one could establish more extensive and adequate research frameworks in order to capture the process as a whole. The interviews aimed to find indicators highlighting what European socialization research should focus on. They thus represent only a snap-shot of the process and yield at best reconstructive information about the socialization process such as information about how national officials are prepared for EU-related work. Based on the results of the interviews or rather on what is termed “organizational aspects of the European socialization process”, the process can be regarded as a sort of continuum that consists of single socializing moments such as rituals and traditions, CWG meetings, informal meetings or negotiations and networking as well as the defense of interests. Furthermore, the socialization process, including its socializing moments, is influenced by external factors. These external factors include for example linguistic skills, the number of member states in the EU arena, the role performed by national officials, the working atmosphere, the difference between work at EU and national level and the institutional settings at both levels.

In the case of Luxembourg, the national officials interviewed view their work at EU level positively. The working procedure at CWG meetings or informal meetings as well as the negotiations are characterized as open and pleasant as well as interesting. Luxembourgish national officials tend to see an enrichment in the work at EU level although they stress that the working atmosphere can vary from group to group, which at the same time has the same effect on the relationships national officials have with colleagues from other member states. They can have close contact with one another, especially with like-minded individuals, but it can also be very impersonal. The extent to which relationships are close or not is also dependent on whether the respective national official lives and works in Brussels or not. The interviews show that national officials working at EU level and at the Permanent Representation have a much closer relationship to their colleagues from other member states than national officials working at the domestic level. They even spoke of those relationships

as “friendships” which indicates a non-professional framework for those relationships. Specific rituals and traditions at EU level such as social dinners or ceremonial procedures seem to foster a sense of well-being and create a common feeling, a feeling of togetherness or a feeling of strength and unity. The only negative aspect national officials reported is the increase in the number of member states over the last few years: this has had a negative impact on the closeness of the relationships among national officials from the different member states. National officials reported that, due to the high number of people involved, it is very difficult to establish or maintain personal relationship as there is no longer enough time to talk, discuss or get to know one another during the meetings. Another factor unique to Luxembourg is the role performed by national officials. They are multilevel players with a high degree of power and autonomy, which translates into free rein for handling dossiers and represents a high degree of flexibility compared to their colleagues from other or bigger member states. This may explain why Luxembourgish national officials did not report that they defended exclusively national interests but rather both national and European interests.

Further indications about the process of European socialization could be gleaned from how national officials are prepared for EU-related work. This can concern training at both national and European level, by domestic or European institutions. Based on the continuum outlined above, the two end points of the continuum could be interpreted as the starting and end point of European socialization. However, the question of when exactly it starts and whether or not it ends has hitherto not been answered. During my interviews, I gained the impression that there might be different starting points of the process, or even that the socialization process is as individual as a national official’s career track can be, i.e. that each national official might experience a different starting point for European socialization in his or her career/training period. In the case of Luxembourgish, some national officials reported that they had had contact with the European Union while still at school. However, most of them had intense contact during their studies because they chose courses that focused on European topics. Surprisingly, however, the preparation phase for national officials once they enter the Luxembourgish civil service seems to be very short on actual preparation. Although every national official has to attend courses at the INAP for two years, this training is rather general preparation more so than something that specifically prepares them for the EU level and EU-related work. Without exception, all interviewees described the method used to introduce national officials to their work at EU level as “learning-by-doing”. In addition, national officials are introduced directly into their field of activity and main tasks by their

predecessors. Moreover, they can expect support in the beginning of their job from their superior. What does this situation signify for the process of European socialization? Does it stimulate the European socialization process or not? These questions cannot be answered on the basis of my interview data. However, in my opinion, the empirical material indicates that, in this vein, the process of European socialization is harder to pin down than if there were a special European training for national officials that are or will be involved in EU affairs.

The way national officials who have been involved in EU affairs at both levels and to different degrees think about the EU and European integration is an indication of the product that emerges out of the European socialization process. National officials that show a positive attitude towards Europe and European integration are assumed to have experienced European socialization to a certain degree. There is no exact measurement of the results that emerge out of the socialization processes apart from the categorization into a positive and negative attitude towards the EU. Previous studies on European socialization that used the variable “attitude” in order to examine effects on European socialization instrumentalized it in different ways. Beyers, for example, introduced three statements³⁶⁷ indicating a position vis-à-vis European integration in order to measure national officials’ attitudes by evaluating to what extent they agree with a certain statement. These items are useful if one would like to discover to what extent national officials are pro-European and how they influence their own European socialization process because it is also assumed that “personal attitudes towards Europe and European integration may penetrate their job-related orientations”³⁶⁸. In the quantitative part of my study about European socialization, I used the same method in order to test the “Europeanness” of my interviewees. However, as the qualitative part was designed to shed more light on the process of European socialization, I decided to consider the variable “attitude” from another perspective by trying to find out what a “European attitude” actually is instead of testing whether their attitude was pro-European or not. My interviewees gave a list of nouns³⁶⁹ to describe a European attitude that actually represents a sort of definition of a European attitude. However, as this is only valid for the case of Luxembourg, future research should firstly check whether national officials in other member states of the European Union

³⁶⁷ These three statements are reproduced in the quantitative part on European socialization in my thesis

³⁶⁸ Egeberg, Morten. “Transcending Intergovernmentalism? Identity and Role Perceptions of National Officials in EU Decision-Making.” *Journal of European Public Policy* 6, no. 3 (1999): p. 6.

³⁶⁹ These nouns were used in order to describe what my interviewees understand a “European attitude” to be. The most important nouns they used were: solidarity, frankness, tolerance, quality and awareness. More specifically, they mentioned the following phrases: respect towards other cultures, acceptance of diversity in the EU, willingness to compromise, understanding about the EU, ability to discuss controversial issues, exchange of opinions and ideas. See more detailed explanation in 3.3.2.1.3.2 European attitude.

have the same definition of a European attitude. Then, once the results of several, or even all, member states, have been compared, one could create a general definition of European attitude and use the nouns or categories indicated by the interviewees in order to test quantitatively whether national officials possess a European attitude or not. I find this procedure more efficient than using different statements about European integration in order to measure a pro-European attitude.

The same applies to the European identity. Previous studies on identities in the European context³⁷⁰ tended to investigate whether a certain type of identity was expressed by national officials and whether these identities change during involvement in EU affairs.³⁷¹ However, no study has yet set out precisely to discover what exactly can be defined as a European identity. Asking national officials how they perceive or imagine a European identity is in my view the quickest and most efficient way to elicit their own conceptions and thus the European identity inherent to them. Examining categories like identity, attitude and values, three variables involved in the European socialization process have been considered from a different perspective. However, the interviews did not set out to explore how or to what extent they influence the process. Rather, the interviews developed a definition that can be used in future research to produce a generalizable definition of these terms.

³⁷⁰ Vgl. Egeberg, Morten. "Transcending Intergovernmentalism? Identity and Role Perceptions of National Officials in EU Decision-Making." *Journal of European Public Policy* 6, no. 3 (1999): 456–474.

³⁷¹ Egeberg, Morten. "Transcending Intergovernmentalism? Identity and Role Perceptions of National Officials in EU Decision-Making." *Journal of European Public Policy* 6, no. 3 (1999): 456–474.

3.3.3 Discussion

Neo-functionalists claim that one result of a strong level of EU involvement is a transfer of loyalties, i.e. a shift of loyalties from the national to the supranational level.³⁷² Although the data collected from national officials who are involved in EU affairs to different degrees and national officials who are not involved in EU affairs is sufficient to allow for a confident generalization, the analyzed sample offers the possibility to gain first insights about the extent to which national officials in Luxembourg were affected by the European socialization. This was done by looking at similarities and differences between the two groups, with similarities indicating no European socialization and differences suggesting that European socialization has taken place to some extent. Even though differences could not be found for each variable, the difference in response behavior is significant and thus confirms Haas's predictions. Furthermore, the institutionalist approach claims that national officials' preferences, interests or attitudes are formed by the institutional setting in which they are embedded, i.e. their institutional affiliation.³⁷³ Basically, this would mean that the attitude of a national official has become more European while participating at EU level. My questionnaire contained different types of questions. Some of them focused on Luxembourg and the EU and others only on the EU and European integration. Those questions that focused only on the EU and EU integration and tested whether or not national officials had a positive bias towards the EU level in general showed no difference between national officials who are involved in EU affairs and those who are not. This result indicated a relatively strong positive bias toward EU and EU integration. A different result can be seen with the questions relating to Luxembourg and the EU. Here, there is a difference between the EU and the non-EU group. This difference would seem to confirm the assumption that the institutional setting might affect national officials in terms of their preferences, interests and attitudes because the results in the non-EU group show a weaker tendency to respond in a certain manner than in the EU group. However, in my opinion it is not a sufficiently robust finding to prove institutional effects on attitude as the change in attitude could have been caused by something else other than the institutional setting. As already indicated in the discussion of my interview results, I am not sure whether, in order to test if national officials possess a pro-European attitude or not, it is

³⁷² Cf. Haas, Ernst. *The Uniting of Europe: Political, Social, and Economic Forces, 1950-1957*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1958.

³⁷³ March, J.G., and J.P. Olsen. *The Logic of Appropriateness*. Advanced Research on the Europeanization of the Nation-State (ARENA): Working Papers, 2004.
http://dingo.sbs.arizona.edu/~ggoertz/pol595e/March_Olsen2006.pdf.

sufficient merely to point to statements that contain pro-European content because it is suggestive. If one would like to test whether national officials from a certain European country possess a pro-European attitude or not, I would recommend following a qualitative/quantitative approach, i.e. first using interviews to discover how they would define a European attitude, identity and values and then testing it in a quantitative way by using their nouns and categories³⁷⁴ in order to check whether a large number of national officials share these categories or not. The results from my interview data serve as an initial starting point suggesting how a definition of European attitudes, values and identity could be generalized.

As the main aim of the quantitative study was to demonstrate that national officials in Luxembourg have been socialized while being involved in EU-related work, knowledge of their sense of belonging becomes an important key variable. While most studies have tested whether the level of involvement in EU affairs affected national officials regarding European socialization³⁷⁵, others have taken the institutional affiliation as an indicator that a process of socialization has occurred.³⁷⁶ Some studies have even taken both variables as verifying their relationship with the European socialization process, which has been instrumentalized by identifying the adoption of role conceptions, either national or supranational, or certain established roles. Beyers, for example, distinguishes between two different roles: supranational and intergovernmental.³⁷⁷ Trondal and Veggeland established three different roles/categories – national government representatives, independent experts and supranational actors – in order to test the degree of European socialization of national officials.³⁷⁸ Beyers and Trondal talk about supranational and intergovernmental roles³⁷⁹ or supranational and pre-

³⁷⁴ Cf. 3.3.2.1.3.2 about European attitudes. The nouns and categories are described in the text.

³⁷⁵ Cf. Egeberg, Morten. "Transcending Intergovernmentalism? Identity and Role Perceptions of National Officials in EU Decision-Making." *Journal of European Public Policy* 6, no. 3 (1999): 456–474; Hooghe, Liesbet. "Supranational Activists or Intergovernmental Agents? Explaining the Orientations of Senior Commission Officials toward European Integration." *Comparative Political Studies* 32, no. 4 (1999): 435–463; Schaefer, Guenther F., Morten Egeberg, Silvo Korez, and Jarle Trondal. "The Experience of Member State Officials in EU Committees: A Report on Initial Findings of an Empirical Study." *Eipascope* 2000, no. 3 (2000): 1–7.

³⁷⁶ Cf. Trondal, Jarle, and Frode Veggeland. "Access, Voice and Loyalty: The Representation of Domestic Civil Servants in EU Committees." *Journal of European Public Policy* 10, no. 1 (2003): 59–80; Egeberg, Morten. "Transcending Intergovernmentalism? Identity and Role Perceptions of National Officials in EU Decision-Making." *Journal of European Public Policy* 6, no. 3 (1999): 456–474.

³⁷⁷ Cf. Beyers, Jan. "Multiple Embeddedness and Socialization in Europe: The Case of Council Officials." *International Organization* 59, no. 4 (2005): 899–936; Hooghe, Liesbet. "Supranational Activists or Intergovernmental Agents? Explaining the Orientations of Senior Commission Officials toward European Integration." *Comparative Political Studies* 32, no. 4 (1999): 435–463.

³⁷⁸ Cf. Trondal, Jarle, and Frode Veggeland. "Access, Voice and Loyalty: The Representation of Domestic Civil Servants in EU Committees." *Journal of European Public Policy* 10, no. 1 (2003): 59–80.

³⁷⁹ Cf. Beyers, Jan, and Jarle Trondal. "How Nation States' Hit Europe: Ambiguity and Representation in the European Union." *West European Politics* 27, no. 5 (2004): 919–942

established allegiances.³⁸⁰ The approach taken towards the analysis in all studies is always the same: national officials are surveyed either with statements representing each concept or to which they have to agree or disagree³⁸¹ or with simple scales that measure extent, e.g. to what extent they feel an allegiance to a certain institution.³⁸² One thing that all these studies and measurements have in common is that they demonstrate to a certain degree that the individuals investigated have experienced a kind of European socialization during their EU involvement. Depending on the overall response rate and how the research is structured, it is possible subsequently to run sophisticated statistical analyses in order to distinguish between the different concepts as well as to demonstrate a strong degree of reliability for the indicators. The overall result is quite interesting as half of the respondents indicated that they felt allegiance and responsibility only to national institutions or their domestic ministry even though those participants were involved in EU affairs to different degrees. This represents an initial insight into the case of Luxembourg regarding the shift in loyalties, especially as national officials that are involved in EU affairs are theoretically expected to feel a stronger allegiance and responsibility towards the EU rather than the national level. Furthermore, the number of officials that are to be expected to feel allegiance to the EU level to a certain extent is expected to be higher than the number of national officials with national allegiances. The second interesting insight that can be gleaned from this variable is the fact that only one out of the 61 national officials indicated that he or she felt a strong allegiance and responsibility towards the EU level, with the rest of the participants feeling an allegiance either towards both levels or just the national level.

Previous research on the European socialization of the political elite, especially studies that had chosen to base their concepts around a dichotomy, e.g. supranational vs. national or supranational vs. intergovernmental, found that neither of the two concepts appeared to dominate among national officials; instead, a mix of the two concepts did. That is the reason why some researchers started to test the relationship between the two concepts.³⁸³ Testing neo-functionalist assumptions, researchers ultimately concluded that national allegiances, identities, role conceptions or perceptions are not replaced by supranational ones but are

³⁸⁰ Cf. Trondal, Jarle. "Beyond the EU Membership-Non-Membership Dichotomy? Supranational Identities among National EU Decision-Makers." *Journal of European Public Policy* 9, no. 3 (2002): 468–487.

³⁸¹ Cf. Beyers, Jan. "Multiple Embeddedness and Socialization in Europe: The Case of Council Officials." *International Organization* 59, no. 4 (2005): 899–936.

³⁸² Cf. Trondal, Jarle. "Beyond the EU Membership-Non-Membership Dichotomy? Supranational Identities among National EU Decision-Makers." *Journal of European Public Policy* 9, no. 3 (2002): 468–487.

³⁸³ Cf. Beyers, Jan. "Multiple Embeddedness and Socialization in Europe: The Case of Council Officials." *International Organization* 59, no. 4 (2005): 899–936.

rather complemented by them. On the other hand, this gives rise to a third variable that can be integrated into the research on European socialization, namely the mix of both roles/conceptions, a construction that emerges out of previous research. This is the reason why my scale measuring the feeling of belonging and responsibility was roughly divided into three different concepts: national ministry, both institutions and Council Working Group/COREPER. The national ministry in this case represents national allegiances, both institutions represent a mix of both allegiances, possibly in a complementary way, and Council Working Group/COREPER signifies exclusively supranational allegiances. Apart from the fact that the majority of the participants indicated a national allegiance, it is striking that the data reveals a 15:1 split as regards those who have mixed allegiances and supranational allegiances. One reason for the predominance of national officials with national allegiances could be the fact that the question measured both a feeling of belonging and responsibility. As national officials are employed in and also paid by the national civil service, it is not surprising that they tend to feel allegiance in the sense of a feeling of responsibility towards the national ministry as they are in actual fact responsible vis-à-vis their national ministry. However, I believe – and this has been confirmed during my interviews by some national officials – that each member state and thus each national official participating at EU level by representing their own country has, both implicitly and in a broader sense, a mission to defend European interests as well as national ones. While most national officials would not agree on this point and in effect do the opposite, some of them reported that they also felt a responsibility to support European integration by attempting to work together in the respective policy areas. Against this background, the results of the measurement of the institutional affiliation of national officials in Luxembourg reveal two characteristic features: first, their institutional affiliation and second, in a broader sense their willingness to support European integration. The latter might also be influenced by the ministry and/or the policy area. In this sense, evaluating the data may lead one to conclude that the change in national officials' allegiance proved by my study indicates that they have been affected by the European socialization process. However, my results do not explain to what extent they have been socialized nor do they explain how this socialization occurred.

Although both the quantitative and qualitative analysis in my thesis are limited in terms of what they can demonstrate about European socialization, both succeeded in making useful statements and indications about the European socialization process in the case of Luxembourg.

4. Conclusion and outlook

This section concludes with the empirical findings regarding the analysis of national officials with varying degrees of involvement in EU affairs and different questions relating in a wider sense to what is termed the European integration process. My empirical results firstly reveal a picture characterizing Luxembourgish “Eurocrats”, who are embedded in a multi-level system, i.e. both at home and in the EU arena. While the duties a national official has to fulfil are important for analyzing the coordination of EU policy in Luxembourg, the role national official’s play at both levels becomes crucial in investigating European socialization processes. Secondly, regardless of whether one examines Eurocrats, domestic coordination of EU policy or the European socialization in a certain country, one has to deal with the institutional setting. The identification of institutional structures in which national officials or Eurocrats are embedded remains crucial in both the domestic coordination of EU policy and European socialization processes. Presenting the main empirical findings of my studies and uncovering the link between them, this chapter will finish by showing the limitations of the thesis and illustrate possible research perspectives regarding both topics and their overall interconnection.

4.1 Conclusion: the Europeanization of Luxembourgish national officials

Analyzing the relationship between Luxembourg and the EU as well as the impact that EU membership has had on Luxembourg shows that both domestic institutions and actors are involved in the European integration and Europeanization processes. Although European integration theories and Europeanization research have already examined these processes in several member states, the literature on Europeanization, in particular, has focused rather more so on the institutional aspect at both a European and a national level rather than on any other aspect. Both studies – the national coordination of EU policy in Luxembourg and the European socialization of Luxembourgish national officials – reveal typical characteristics and patterns of Luxembourg’s relationship with the European Union. As the first study has shown, the framework in which Luxembourg acts as a stakeholder at European level is characterized by typically Luxembourgish features. Its national administrative system was revealed to be a flexible system with informal procedures dominating. These informal

procedures offer national officials significant scope, especially in negotiations, because everything needs to be settled swiftly and without delays caused by long, formal administrative procedures. As the hierarchical structures of the Luxembourgish administration are very simple, it has a very efficient coordination.³⁸⁴ Secondly, Luxembourgish “Eurocrats” are as flexible as the system and institutional setting in which they are embedded. The multilingualism so common in Luxembourg makes it easy for them to communicate at EU level and with colleagues from other member states. Being frequently in contact with their counterparts, Luxembourgish national officials display generally a very pro-European attitude, which might be evidence that they have been “European-socialized”.

Based on the empirical investigation of both topics as they relate to Luxembourg, this thesis contains original findings in the following areas:

1. Insights into the functioning of the Luxembourgish state apparatus
2. How Luxembourg coordinates its EU policy at both domestic and EU level
3. Insights and empirical evidence regarding the effectiveness of the domestic coordination system of EU policy
4. Empirical evidence for the effects of Europeanization at institutional and individual level
5. Empirical evidence for the European socialization of Luxembourgish national officials

The following chapter discusses and summarizes these original findings regarding the case of Luxembourg. Following this, I will demonstrate, for the case of Luxembourg, the link between the study of the domestic coordination of EU policy and European socialization as well as how they are linked.

³⁸⁴ Cf. Panke, Diana. “Good Instructions in No Time? Domestic Coordination of EU Policies in 19 Small States.” *West European Politics* 33, no. 4 (2010): 770–790; Panke, Diana. *Small States in the European Union Coping with Structural Disadvantages*. Farnham, Surrey, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010.

4.1.1 The national coordination of EU policy in Luxembourg

A founding member state now with more than 50 years of experience in EU policy- and decision-making processes, Luxembourg has a role in the EU that has evolved during the European integration process. The analysis of domestic coordination process in Luxembourg represents the first systematic account in this regard. From sitting at the EU table in 1958 alongside five other European countries, Luxembourg now has 27 fellow member states. Today, Luxembourg belongs to the group of smaller and experienced member states in the EU arena. Small member states have different requirements at EU level and at the negotiating table than their larger counterparts. They need to pursue other strategies than larger member states are capable of because of size, and they also perform different functions.³⁸⁵ Luxembourg's role is clear: it has played the role of mediator ever since it joined the EU. Especially between the two biggest EU member states and Luxembourg's direct neighbors France and Germany, it has acted as diplomatic mediator, an important function and role within the EU. One interviewee observed that the smallest member states are pro-European.³⁸⁶ Larger member states have other options open to them due to their high voting weight and are able to exhibit less pro-European behavior. A small member state has different options open to it in EU negotiations. Essentially, coalition-building is much more important for small member states than large ones. According to one interviewee, this is because of the voting weight, as there are advantages to collaborating and forming coalitions with like-minded large countries.³⁸⁷

Although each member state in the European Union is important, Luxembourgish national officials point to two aspects in order to explain the necessity and importance of Luxembourg's EU membership. On the one hand, Luxembourg is an important country in the EU because it is a founding member state and thus has many years' experience and a long tradition. On the other hand, the reasons for its importance are also rooted in the geographical-historical dimension. As Luxembourg is situated in the center of Europe and has always played a mediating role between member states, it has been able to exert influence even though it is among the EU's small member states.

³⁸⁵ Cf. section 3.2.1.5 about efficiency of national coordination of EU policy

³⁸⁶ Cf. Interview with National Official # 2, 12th of October 2011.

³⁸⁷ Cf. Interview with National Official # 3, 25th of November 2011.

Given this background, it is not surprising that the Luxembourgish coordination system differs from those of the larger member states. First, just as other small member states³⁸⁸, Luxembourg belongs to those systems that have decentralized administrative structures, mainly because the states apparatus is chronically short of personnel. Second, the way the domestic coordination of EU policy works is best characterized as informal and flexible. The national “Eurocrats” are the key stakeholders in the coordination process as the success of coordination depends much on them. Exchange, information transfer and important decision procedures are not formalized in Luxembourg. Thus the Eurocrats form the key elements in the domestic coordination process of EU policy, in which personal contact among colleagues at national and European level is indispensable. Although there is no central coordinating body in the Luxembourgish system, the foreign ministry at both levels is intended as the official leader in the coordination process. Due to the fact that most ministries function relatively autonomously and have the freedom to determine how they manage their EU policy, the coordinating function of the foreign ministry is limited to national officials in the Permanent Representation of Luxembourg. Here, it mainly comes into play once a dossier requires cross-ministerial coordination.

The expansion of the European Union in the past few decades, along with the growth of the EU machinery, i.e. bureaucracy, have resulted in Europeanization effects on EU member states. The consequences can be seen in an increasing workforce at the Permanent Representation, especially if the respective ministry previously had no national official representing his or her policy area in Brussels. In the 1990s, Luxembourg increased its staff enormously due to European pressures and doubled, even tripled its staff at its Permanent Representation.³⁸⁹ However, this was not the only consequence for the Luxembourgish coordination system of EU policy. The number of dossiers to be treated at the turn of the millennium reached a level that, for the first time, required the creation of a proper coordinating body in Luxembourg: the Comité Interministerielle de Coordination de la

³⁸⁸ e.g. Ireland

³⁸⁹ The references concerning the enormous increase in staff have only been indicated in the interviews with national officials. Unfortunately, there is no possibility to get concrete numbers from what number to what number the staff exactly increased. Several attempts to get concrete numbers from the responsible ministry and the Foreign Ministry failed. There is no possibility to get access to these numbers via the website of the responsible ministry. The only documents that are accessible for the public are the “rapport d’activité” of each year. In these reports, no numbers are provided that would indicate the number of national officials working in each ministry, nor a distinction between national officials working in the Foreign ministry vs. national officials working in the Permanent Representation. According to the ministry of public administration, these numbers can only be provided by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which did not reply to my several demands.

Politique Européenne. Since 2005, the CICPE has been responsible for all dossiers that concern at least two different ministries and is thus the de facto cross-ministerial coordinating body in the Luxembourgish coordination system. In the course of its membership, Luxembourg has encountered several challenges. The biggest challenge for the country remains the implementation of EU directives. On the one hand, the chronic shortage of personnel forces Luxembourg's national administration to work transversally and according to my interviewees, actually represents an advantage for the country.³⁹⁰ On the other hand, it is also responsible for the fact that Luxembourg is always behind schedule on the implementation of EU directives.

The Luxembourgish coordination system therefore contains weaknesses and strengths just as other coordination systems do. Its strengths lie mainly in the efficient coordination of EU policy taking place every day thanks to informal proceedings that facilitate exchange and information transfer. However, being a small member state automatically implies limited resources in terms of staff, which means each EU dossier is analyzed in less detail.

4.1.2 The European socialization of Luxembourgish national officials

Previous studies have already tested neo-functionalist assumptions and concluded that there seems to be a shift of allegiances from the national to the supranational level as national allegiances are complemented by supranational ones. These case studies have chosen different designs and only a small number of EU member states. Luxembourg has never been covered by any study about European socialization. My thesis represents the first study to analyze the European socialization of national officials in Luxembourg. Important findings that emerged out of my empirical studies, both quantitative and qualitative, show the pro-European outlook that can be found among national officials in the Luxembourgish civil service, regardless of whether they are involved or not in EU affairs.

The empirical evidence from the quantitative analysis indicates that national officials in Luxembourg have largely undergo European socialization as there was a significant number of national officials that felt allegiance towards the supranational level but only in addition to existing allegiances or identities. Therefore the results of the quantitative study generally

³⁹⁰ Cf. Interview with national official # 14, 10, 11, 8, 5

confirm previous findings especially concerning the mixed-identity profile of national civil servants. Although the EU group displayed a strong national orientation, the overall picture reveals a pro-European bias among all participants whether they participated in the quantitative or qualitative study. Finally, both studies analyzing European socialization in this thesis furnish the idea of a typical national civil servant in Luxembourg - a Luxembourgish “Eurocrat” who is a multi-level player embedded in the European system at multiple levels, and thus playing a double role that consists in defending both European and national interests at both European and national levels.

While the results of the quantitative study reveal the perception and attitude as well as the affiliations of national officials, the qualitative study specifies these perceptions, attitudes and affiliations in more concrete terms by providing an initial insight into when and where socialization takes place – factors that have tended to be neglected in previous research of European socialization. In particular, the qualitative interviews trace the professional development of national civil servants in Luxembourg by demonstrating the training path that they have taken in the national administrative system and that represents a potential source of European socialization. For example, the contact that national officials cultivate with colleagues from other member states throughout their professional career represents a strong source of socialization, in which common beliefs and bias can be shared or developed. In conclusion, the empirical studies presented in this thesis do not only uncover a picture of Luxembourg as EU member state by characterizing its national EU policy coordination system, in which national officials deal with European issues on a daily basis but also they deliver indicators that prove to be significant for analyzing the European socialization process.

4.1.3 Link between national coordination and European socialization

There is empirical evidence that domestic coordination processes of EU policy and the European socialization process are inter-linked. The empirical studies presented in this thesis reveal that there are two dimensions which seem to shape both processes: (1) the institutional setting and (2) the role that national officials play during their involvement in EU-related work. However, it has been observed that the said dimensions cannot be seen as evenly significant for shaping both processes. The institutional setting generally delivers information

about the institutional framework in which the EU policy coordination and the European socialization of civil servants take place. However, investigating the institutional factors explains mainly the national coordination process of EU policy, and it gives only some background information on the European socialization process. In turn, exploring the role national officials represent only one of several dimensions determining the domestic coordination process of EU policy (see table 24).

Table 24 : Foreground and background information in both processes

| | Foreground information | Background information |
|---|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| The national coordination process of EU policy | Institutional setting | The role of national officials |
| The European socialization process | The role of national officials | Institutional setting |

The relationship between the domestic coordination process of EU policy, institutional adaptation and European socialization has been addressed in the literature only on a general level. While the two literature strands – the coordination and socialization literature – seem to lead separate lives, a few rare exceptions have started to establish a link between the two topics and discuss their interconnection implicitly. Kassim and Harmsen for example consider socialization as a pressure factor that affects the national coordination of EU policy. However, neither of the authors relates the different topics and levels of analyses to one another directly. Noticeably, socialization issues have tended to be addressed marginally, at least in literature dealing with coordination and Europeanization questions.³⁹¹ The same holds true for the national coordination of EU policy which has been investigated only marginally in the socialization literature with coordination used as an independent variable. However, this

³⁹¹ Cf. Kassim et al., Hussein. *The National Co-Ordination of EU Policy: The European Level*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001; Kassim, Hussein, Guy Peters, and Vincent Wright. *The National Co-Ordination of EU Policy: The Domestic Level*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000; Harmsen, Robert. "The Europeanization of National Administrations: A Comparative Study of France and the Netherlands." *Governance* 12, no. 1 (1999): 81–113.

approach, without providing any information about the nature of coordination of EU policy, seems to be insufficient. But how does it affect the socialization process? And why is it important to know the type of coordination system? It would be scientifically relevant to examine why the nature of the coordination system should be considered while investigating the socialization processes at all, and following that, how the nature of coordination of EU policy may affect the socialization process. The existing literature and previous studies have determined that a high level of autonomy of civil servants and a weak coordination system favor the adoption of supranational role conceptions. Noticeably, the results of my quantitative study show that Luxembourgish national officials possess a relatively high level of autonomy and a very efficient coordination system and yet a tangible supranational thinking pattern can be observed. Following the empirical evidence for European socialization in the case of Luxembourg, the likelihood that national coordination in general has an impact on European socialization processes increases and not only in a certain combination, i.e. a high level of autonomy and weak coordination. For the analysis of the European socialization of national officials, it is not only necessary to look at indicators at process level but also at context level.

Socialization takes place within an institutional structure such as we find at EU level or even at national level in terms of the national administrative systems. This framework, however, is situated in a certain geographical, cultural and historical context. Even though the context should rather be considered as secondary in terms of the socialization process per se, it can be assumed that the socialization is shaped by these factors. Once we examine the socialization process as it affects national officials from the member states, it is indispensable to integrate cultural, geographical and historical factors into the analysis, especially if one assumes that European socialization also, and particularly, takes place at national level more so than at European level. These three factors give each member state its own individual character as each country has its own history and thus its own mentality. For example, Luxembourg belongs to the group of small member states that have specific features distinct from large member states. From this perspective, European socialization is specific to each member state.

In order to analyze the European socialization processes of Luxembourgish national officials, it is necessary to integrate these country-specific conditions into the analysis. As no information has yet been furnished about how EU policy is coordinated at national level in Luxembourg, this thesis explored these aspects in a first step in order to establish a basis for further analysis of the European socialization process. Understanding European socialization

requires looking at the institutional framework at both European and domestic levels. Viewing the process of national coordination of EU policy as the framework in which European socialization takes place allows to establish a link between the Europeanization of national administrations and European socialization.

For the analysis of the European socialization of national officials, two components emerge as important in the European socialization process: institutions and individuals. It would be nigh on impossible to explain European socialization without referring to these factors as the individuals are embedded institutionally. Therefore, it would be interesting to ask whether the Europeanization of national administrations leads at the same time to an Europeanization (“European socialization”) of the individuals working in these institutions, or whether European socialization could conceivably take place without any Europeanization of national administrations.

Previous research into the European socialization process has attached great importance to institutions and institutional factors. Arguing from an institutionalist point of view, this would hint at a causal relationship between the Europeanization of national institutions and European socialization: the more institutions become Europeanized, the more national officials become “European-socialized”. Most of the conditions investigated that are said to contribute to the emergence of supranational role conceptions are institutional conditions, followed by individual factors. While the investigation of European socialization processes concentrates on individuals, their behavior and attitudes, Europeanization research brings into focus institutional processes such as the institutional adjustment process at national level. Although research into European socialization assumes that the socialization process takes place mainly in and through European institutions, the findings of Beyers study contradict these assumptions.³⁹² By examining the adoption of supranational role conceptions by Belgian civil servants, Beyers discovered that national factors too could have an impact on the adoption of supranational role conceptions. In this sense, this study supports the assumption presented in this thesis that the Europeanization of national institutions in the sense of adaptation might have consequences for the socialization of civil servants working in these institutions.

³⁹² Cf. Beyers, Jan. “Multiple Embeddedness and Socialization in Europe: The Case of Council Officials.” *International Organization* 59, no. 4 (2005): 899–936.

To sum up, the empirical studies presented in this thesis not only demonstrate how Luxembourg handles European pressures at both institutional (institutions) and individual (national executives) levels, but they also highlight the fact that both institutional and individual levels need to be factored into case studies of individual EU member states vis-à-vis the EU. Following the previous assumption that the analysis of the national coordination system of EU policy and the European socialization process in a member state of the European Union represent sub-processes of European integration, these two processes can be investigated in relation to Luxembourg under the general label “the Europeanization of Luxembourgish national officials”.

The analysis of coordination processes referring to EU level and questions about socialization at EU level refer directly to the term “Europeanization” as both processes base on adaptation and learning within the overall European integration process. The national coordination of EU policy in Luxembourg thereby represents an analysis of the institutional dimension, whereas questions of European socialization refer to the individual dimension, which is represented at both European and domestic levels. Domestic adaptation occurs in both cases. In terms of the national coordination of EU policy in Luxembourg, the question is to what extent domestic administrative structures are adapted to European pressures. In relation to the European socialization of Luxembourgish national officials the link to Europeanization represents the adaptation and learning processes of national officials with regard to European pressures as well.

The findings of the empirical studies presented in this thesis regarding the case of Luxembourg reveal that institutions and national officials in Luxembourg have had to learn and adapt to European demands to a certain degree. Up to now, the literature on European integration and Europeanization has mainly focused on how institutions or policy areas react to European pressures. How national officials who are part of European policy-making processes are affected by European integration and Europeanization processes has only been analyzed in a small research strand called “European socialization” but has never been systematically integrated into the overall Europeanization debate. One principal aim of this thesis was to deliver new insights into how Luxembourg copes with European pressures by analyzing its coordination system of EU policy and the extent to which its national officials have been socialized. The extent to which it would be relevant to open a new chapter in Europeanization research by including national officials and their exposure to European pressures into the analysis of Europeanization processes remains open to debate.

4.2 Outlook: the Europeanization of national officials

An analysis of the relationship between Luxembourg and the EU comprises several different dimensions. Although the national coordination processes of EU policy and European socialization processes are sub-processes of the overall European integration process, at the same time the Europeanization process has an impact on these processes. Howell describes European integration and Europeanization as interactive. While Europeanization implies uploading or downloading processes, “European integration comprises the environment on which Europeanization impacts or from which it emanates.”³⁹³ Although one might expect them to be almost identical processes, there are still differences, especially concerning their conceptualization:

“On the one hand, Europeanization can be seen as the source of change in relation to the EU level in terms of European integration and the development of supranationality. On the other hand, European integration can be seen as the source of change and Europeanization the outcome of change on member state governmental, legal and regulatory structures.”³⁹⁴

In this sense, he is claiming that there is a sort of causal relationship between the two concepts of Europeanization and European integration, with European integration representing the cause or source and Europeanization the effect or outcome of change as both processes involve structural changes at EU and national level. Ian Bache, in contrast, reduces the differentiation of both processes to “European integration as the process of creating a polity at the EU level and Europeanization as the effects of the EU on its member and accession states.”³⁹⁵ The more general definition of Europeanization found in the literature refers broadly to a “domestic adaptation to European regional integration”³⁹⁶.

This thesis investigated national adaptation processes at institutional and individual level due to European pressure and can therefore be incorporated into the Europeanization/European integration research.

³⁹³ Howell, Kerry. *Developing Conceptualizations of Europeanization and European Integration: Mixing Methodologies*. Sheffield UK, 2002: p. 21.

³⁹⁴ Ibid, p. 20.

³⁹⁵ Bache, Ian. *Europeanization and Multilevel Governance: Cohesion Policy in the European Union and Britain*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008: p. 1.

³⁹⁶ Graziano, Paolo, and Maarten Peter Vink. *Europeanization: New Research Agendas*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire [England]; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007: p. 5.

4.2.1 Difficulties and limitations in the thesis

The European socialization process is generally difficult to grasp. No study has systematically revealed what the process is about, how socialization proceeds and what individual stages national officials undergo in order to become (re-)socialized. In my opinion, European socialization research actually fails to assess the socialization process by testing the adoption of supranational role conceptions as the dependent variable, with different independent variables representing framework conditions that may have caused the socialization. Therefore, each single study represents only an attempt to demonstrate European socialization by using different variables as indicators and different methods and qualitative and quantitative research designs. Even though quantitative studies dominate the literature, having qualitative designs predominating instead would not solve the problem. A major lack of knowledge about how the process itself takes place makes it difficult to judge whether the variables that have been tested are sufficient in order to claim to demonstrate the European socialization of national officials, regardless of whether one analyses institutional affiliation³⁹⁷ or runs more sophisticated statistical analyses by verifying the adoption of supranational role conceptions. Problematizing the strong outcome-oriented nature of research into European socialization, Beyers stated the following:

“(..) the assessment of socialization may focus on the wrong socialization outcome. It resembles the drunk who searches for his keys near the streetlights because this is where he can see.”³⁹⁸

The main problem in European socialization research is thus that the process itself would be a more appropriate dependent variable in order to demonstrate the European socialization of national officials. However, as long as the process in its individual stages is unknown, there will be a lack of studies to provide robust indicators proving that European socialization has taken place. Similarly, it is more or less pointless to test the framework conditions that may trigger or cause the socialization process if these tests rely on the adoption of supranational role conceptions as the dependent variable. Examining “support for supranational norms (...) preference change, (...) role orientations”³⁹⁹ or institutional affiliations only represent

³⁹⁷ This variable generally fails to check for recruitment bias and thus has its limits concerning its claim to demonstrate the European socialization of national officials.

³⁹⁸ Beyers, Jan. “Conceptual and Methodological Challenges in the Study of European Socialization.” *Journal of European Public Policy* 17, no. 6 (2010): p. 910.

³⁹⁹ Ibid, p. 910.

attempts to get closer to what has really happened during socialization. The literature does not even provide an adequate definition of European socialization. It would appear that Beyers is the first researcher to provide a clear definition of what he understands the European socialization process to be. In his definition, he distinguishes between two stages in the process:

1. a redefinition of norms and practices
2. internalization of these norms and practices as part of the self⁴⁰⁰

This conceptualization of European socialization is strongly orientated towards what has been called the constructivist turn in international relations.⁴⁰¹ Institutionalists would tend rather to emphasize the impact of the respective institutions, i.e. European institutions, on individuals during the European socialization process. Other approaches certainly also have their comments to make. It is arguable whether one of these approaches or all of them together will provide a solid and satisfactory answer to what the European socialization of national officials actually is and how it works.

In this respect, a potentially relevant body of French academic literature has emerged,⁴⁰² which questions the existing literature on European socialization processes and proposes a new perspective of analysis. In doing so, this literature identifies the existing problems in the research area of European socialization: different conceptions, varying definitions of the dependent variables etc. However, the perspective it has chosen remains too restricted as it does not move beyond a narrowly sociological approach to the topic. This is not sufficient in my opinion because analyzing the European socialization process involves much more than the adoption of supranational role conceptions. The process might be seen as multi-layered construction consisting of several stages which might be best analyzed with tools from different disciplines such as sociology or even psychology⁴⁰³. My proposition is thus to focus more strongly on interdisciplinary research projects involving political science, social sciences and/or psychology to a greater extent. Especially when it comes to testing the

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid, p. 909.

⁴⁰¹ Cf. Checkel, Jeffrey T. "International Institutions and Socialization in Europe: Introduction and Framework." *International Organization*. 59:04 (2005): 801–826.

⁴⁰² Michel, Hélène, and Cécile Robert. "La fabrique des « Européens » : processus de socialisation et construction Européenne", PU Strasbourg, 2010.

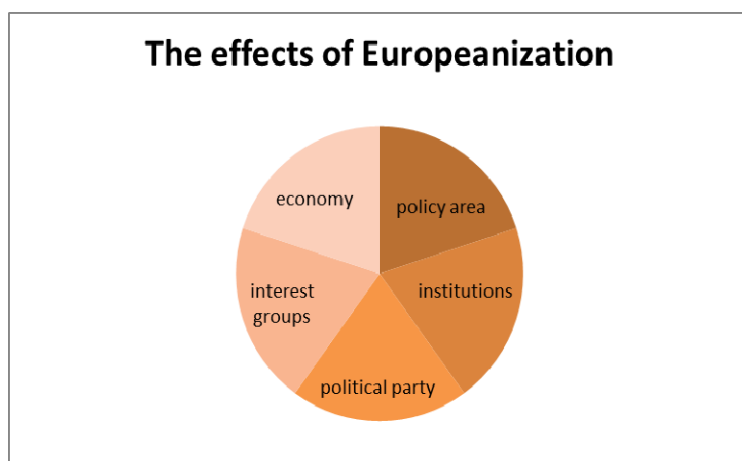
⁴⁰³ E.g. the internalization of norms and values

internalization of norms and values, these disciplines might have a more specific and thorough knowledge of how best to test these variables. Furthermore, my thesis focused on one country in a twofold manner. The results which emerged out of my analyses are therefore not generalizable because they are only valid for the case of Luxembourg but nonetheless offer interesting insights for further research.

4.2.2 Prospects for future research

Previous research into the effects of Europeanization has focused primarily on the institutional level, covering elements such as domestic and European institutions, policy areas, economy and interest groups, and political parties (see figure 1). But to what extent has Europeanization research included individuals? There has hitherto been no discernible direct link. The only literature strand that deals with individuals is termed “European socialization”. However, an analysis of the Europeanization of national executives should include the institutional level as it furnishes information about the setting in which European socialization takes place. Previous research into European socialization has also failed to take this aspect into account or has done so only as an independent variable in relation to the adoption of supranational role conceptions, which is proof of the effects of European socialization. The national coordination of EU policy is much more than simply an independent variable. It provides information about the general setting, e.g., in the case of Luxembourg, the administrative structures in which national executives are integrated. This information is required for understanding European socialization processes as they provide the institutional framework for the effects of socialization on national executives at both European and domestic levels. As no information has yet been furnished about how EU policy is coordinated at national level in Luxembourg, my thesis explored these aspects in a first step in order to establish a basis for further analysis.

Figure 5: The effects of Europeanization on different dimensions



The national coordination system gives an impression of the system in which national executives are socialized and, based on my empirical data, I can assume that this socialization does not only take place at national level but also at European level. Beyer's study supports the fact that the effects of European socialization tend to manifest themselves at national level rather than at European level (as is widely assumed in the literature), whereas the literature on coordination takes both levels into account. Ladrech has recently addressed the issue of national executives in relation to European politics. Looking at the "Europeanization of national executives", he questions the way in which national civil servants have to adapt in general to the EU policy- and decision-making process. By analyzing national officials in the EU policy- and decision-making process at both levels and by including how they are affected by the pressures and challenges revealed by the studies conducted by Kassim et al., Ladrech builds his arguments primarily on the basis of research into the national coordination of EU policy. He analyses the daily EU policy- and decision-making process and the role inherent to national officials in this process in order to demonstrate institutional change and adaptation:

"This chapter explores the Europeanization of national executives, and so doing, presents evidence of how member states governments adapt to the influence of the EU in their routine operations as well as the changes made in organizational format considered necessary for more efficient promotion of national interests in Brussels. (...) Nevertheless, this chapter demonstrates that at the very least, the EU has had a profound impact on national executives and their relationship to other domestic institutions through the added role and responsibility they play in the context of European governance."⁴⁰⁴

There are two differences between this approach and my approach to the Europeanization of national officials. First, Ladrech largely equates Europeanization with institutional change alone. In my model, this institutional dimension, concerned with the daily policy-making routine and the internal organization of EU policy coordination, represents only one dimension of the Europeanization of national officials. Second, what is clearly missing are the individual-level adaptations of national officials/executives, i.e. changes in attitude, behavior, feeling of belonging and how the temporal dimension affects this process. In this sense, the Europeanization of domestic actors is used in two different ways.

I therefore propose to add national officials/executives to the list of categories that research into Europeanization has already examined (see figure 2).

⁴⁰⁴ Ladrech, Robert. *Europeanization and National Politics*. Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010: p. 46ff.

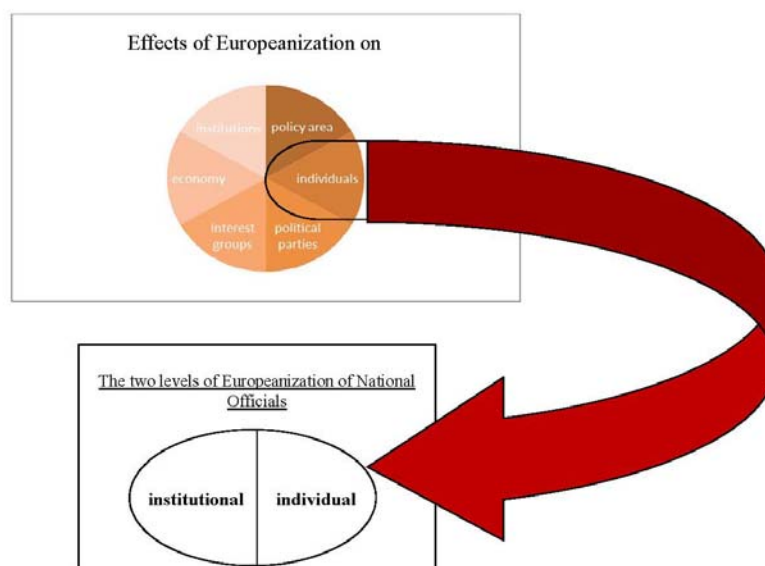
Figure 6: The expansion of categories on which Europeanization has an impact



According to my definition, the Europeanization of national officials covers adaptation and learning processes on different levels. Compared to processes of European socialization, the Europeanization of national officials identifies the institutional level in Europeanization processes as an indispensable part of the whole process. The process as such encompasses a gradual approach to the European ideal while preserving national identity. Therefore, the institutional level represents the framework in which national officials are embedded and experience their socialization. That is the reason why the Europeanization of national officials has to consider both the individual and the institutional level. European adaptation processes at the institutional level have a direct impact on the individuals working in that institution, just as individuals can have an impact on the institutional setting by, for example, changing it.

Figure 7: The two levels of Europeanization affecting national officials

The Europeanization of National Officials



I therefore believe that the Europeanization of national officials does not only imply European socialization processes at EU level but also institutional processes as well, i.e. adaptation processes of national institutions in the EU context at both national and European level. It furnishes information about administrative structures and the organization of several EU policies or EU policy in general. The Europeanization of national officials concerns adaptation processes at individual and institutional level, i.e. how does adaptation occur at individual and institutional level? In order to gain further insights into adaptation processes at institutional level, one needs information about the manner in which a member state coordinates its EU policy at both levels. In order to gain further insights into how adaptation processes occur at individual level, one needs to look at the socialization process, i.e. how national officials learn everyday EU policy- and decision-making and what possibilities are available to them for integrating into the EU system. The institutional level should thus focus on analyzing the following questions:

- To what extent does the national administrative system/structures contribute to Europeanization?

- What is the significance of EU policy at national level?
- To what extent does the administrative system promote the Europeanization of national officials?
- What kind of institutional traditions are there?
- What kind of training do national administrations offer?
- How does the country coordinate its EU policy?
- How is the framework constructed in which socialization processes take place?
- What kind of basis does the structure of the national administration provide?
- To what extent do existing structures support European socialization?
- In which framework (institution) is the national official involved?
- How is the system/structure characterized?

The individual level should focus on analyzing of the following questions:

- How do national officials learn the day-to-day European routine?
- What possibilities are available to national officials for integrating into the EU system?
- How do they learn to cope with defending national interests at the European level tactically in each area?
- What do they think about Europe and European integration?
- What has been their experience with regard to the EU?
- How would they assess their day-to-day EU work routine?

Both aspects represent processes of adaption and learning, i.e. how a national official has learned, for example, the need to proceed tactically in order to defend the interests of their own country in each policy area. This tactic also describes the way in which a country coordinates its EU policy. In order to gain further insights into the institutional and individual learning and adaptation processes in which national officials are involved, it is necessary to

analyze how the respective member states coordinate EU policy at national level as well as the European socialization processes. This classification into two levels is similar to what Risse et al. have explored in their research into Europeanization and domestic change. Risse, however, has categorized the different processes on the basis of a formal and an informal logic. Interested in gaining further insights into how European integration has changed member states and their administrations and political cultures, Risse et al. assume that Europeanization is also an ongoing process that affects formal structures such as domestic administrative and legal structures as well as informal structures such as identities, collective understandings of citizenship norms and business-government relations.⁴⁰⁵ Although the categorization of levels of analysis into a formal/informal distinction is very similar to my institutional/individual categorization, each single concept encompasses different conceptions and has a different focus of analysis. However, the first assumption that Risse et al. make, namely that Europeanization matters, is also present in my argument.

Moreover, I assume that the two levels – institutional and individual – are interdependent, i.e. they correlate with each other. It can be assumed that, once changes occur, e.g. at the institutional level, this will have an impact on the individual level and vice versa. Processes of socialization have an impact on institutions, i.e. institutions influence individuals who are embedded in institutions and individuals influence institutions in which they are working. Therefore, I think that the (national) institutional setting, which differs from country to country, also has an impact on the respective socialization process and not only on the European institutional setting. I also see it as more likely that national administrative structures have more influence than European ones as national officials are more bound and tied to their domestic structures, especially when they do not work in Brussels on a daily basis. One example for this is a study conducted by Beyers (2005), which found that national factors more so than European ones can be determined as being decisive for European socialization.⁴⁰⁶

These arguments and the empirical evidence provided by my empirical data on both aspects are intended to stimulate future research questioning the conception of Europeanization as an object of investigation as well as to provide a different approach to analyzing case studies with regard to the effects of Europeanization in EU member states.

⁴⁰⁵ Cf. Börzel, Tanja A, and Thomas Risse. *When Europe Hits Home: Europeanization and Domestic Change*. Firenze: European University Institute, 2000.

⁴⁰⁶ Cf. Beyers, Jan. "Multiple Embeddedness and Socialization in Europe: The Case of Council Officials." *International Organization* 59, no. 4 (2005): 899–936.

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6. Appendix

6.1 Questionnaire 1: Questionnaire of the EU group in French

Age : _____

Sexe : _____

Dernier diplôme obtenu : _____

Institution du dernier diplôme obtenu : _____

☐ Je participe aux groupes de travail du Conseil de l'UE

☐ Je **ne participe pas** aux groupes de travail du Conseil de l'UE mais je suis impliqué dans les activités européennes

1. A quel Ministère êtes-vous rattaché ? _____

2. Depuis quand travaillez-vous pour ce Ministère ? _____

3. Depuis quand êtes-vous actif comme fonctionnaire de l'Etat ? _____

4. Le cas échéant, quand avez-vous commencé à travailler à la Représentation Permanente du Luxembourg ? _____

5. Pour quelle institution éprouvez-vous un sentiment d'appartenance et de responsabilité ? *(veuillez cocher la/les case(s) pour situer votre sentiment d'appartenance)*

| Votre Ministère | | | les 2 institutions | | | | Groupe de travail européen/COREPER | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

6. Quelle part de votre temps de travail est dédiée aux affaires européennes (à peu près) ? *(veuillez y répondre en pourcents)* _____

7. Depuis combien d'années dans votre carrière dans la fonction publique travaillez-vous sur des sujets européens ? _____

8. Quelle part de votre activité professionnelle depuis le début de votre carrière dans la fonction publique a été consacrée aux affaires européennes (à peu près)? *(veuillez y répondre en pourcents)* _____

9. Comparé il y a 20 ans, (si vous étiez déjà dans la fonction publique), diriez-vous que la participation des fonctionnaires nationaux aux affaires européennes a augmenté ?

☐ Oui ☐ plutôt oui ☐ plutôt non ☐ non ☐ ne sait pas

10. Quelle est la fréquence des contacts que vous établissez avec des collègues des autres Etats Membres ?

☐ très souvent ☐ souvent ☐ parfois ☐ jamais

11. Quelle est la fréquence des contacts que vous établissez avec un collègue d'un autre Etat Membre au sujet d'un dossier précis ?
- ☐ très souvent ☐ souvent ☐ parfois ☐ jamais
12. Quelle est la fréquence des contacts établis avec vous par un fonctionnaire d'un autre Etat Membre pour traiter d'un dossier précis ?
- ☐ très souvent ☐ souvent ☐ parfois ☐ jamais
13. Comparé il y a 20 ans (si vous étiez déjà dans la fonction publique), diriez-vous que la coopération avec d'autres Etats Membres est devenue plus facile ?
- ☐ Oui ☐ plutôt oui ☐ plutôt non ☐ non ☐ ne sait pas
14. Comparé il y a 20 ans (si vous étiez déjà dans la fonction publique), diriez-vous que la coopération avec les Institutions Européennes pour les prises de décision en général est devenue plus nécessaire ?
- ☐ Oui ☐ plutôt oui ☐ plutôt non ☐ non ☐ ne sait pas
15. Quelle est la fréquence à laquelle vous recevez des instructions de votre supérieur ?
- ☐ très souvent ☐ souvent ☐ parfois ☐ jamais
16. Vous arrive-t-il de ne pas avancer dans le traitement d'un dossier par manque de consensus entre les dirigeants politiques nationaux ?
- ☐ très souvent ☐ souvent ☐ parfois ☐ jamais
17. Vous arrive-t-il de ne pas pouvoir traiter ou achever le traitement d'un dossier par manque d'information ?
- ☐ très souvent ☐ souvent ☐ parfois ☐ jamais
18. Pensez-vous que les emplois dans le secteur public devraient être plus accessibles aux personnes originaires d'un autre Etat Membre et qui ne possèdent pas la nationalité luxembourgeoise ?
- ☐ Oui ☐ plutôt oui ☐ plutôt non ☐ non ☐ ne sait pas
19. Etes-vous en faveur de faire bénéficier les citoyens non-luxembourgeois (mais originaires d'un Etat Membre) du droit de vote pour les élections législatives (Chambre des Députés) ?
- ☐ Oui ☐ plutôt oui ☐ plutôt non ☐ non ☐ ne sait pas
20. Est-ce que la coopération européenne a permis à votre Ministère d'atteindre des objectifs dans son domaine des politiques publiques qui auraient été plus difficilement accessibles sur le seul plan national ?
- ☐ Oui ☐ plutôt oui ☐ plutôt non ☐ non ☐ ne sait pas

21. Veuillez m'indiquer votre degré de consentement aux avis ci-après :

- a) La tâche principale des groupes de travail devrait être la réalisation des objectifs communs et la création d'une politique commune en collaboration avec les différents Etats Membres et avec la Commission Européenne.

D'accord

pas d'accord

☐☐☐☐☐☐

- b) A mon avis on devrait travailler dans le sens d'une politique fermement unifiée et renforçant le pouvoir exécutif des Institutions européennes.

D'accord

pas d'accord

☐☐☐☐☐☐

- c) L'activité essentielle de la Commission Européenne et des représentants nationaux devra créer des orientations applicables dans les politiques respectives des Etats Membres.

D'accord

pas d'accord

☐☐☐☐☐☐

22. Est-ce que votre attitude à l'égard de l'Union Européenne a changé au cours du traitement des affaires européennes ?

☐

Oui

☐

Oui, d'une manière positive

☐

Oui, d'une manière négative

☐

Non

Dernière question :

Est-ce que vous seriez prêt, par la suite, à participer à une interview (durée approx. 30 minutes) à une date de votre choix ? (Si vous êtes d'accord, veuillez indiquer les dates qui vous conviennent dans le courriel de réponse.)

☐ oui

☐ non

Vos commentaires/vos remarques :

Merci beaucoup pour votre contribution et votre participation !

6.2 Questionnaire 2: Questionnaire of the non-EU group in French

Age : _____

Sexe : _____

Titre : _____

Dernier diplôme obtenu : _____

Institution du dernier diplôme obtenu : _____

- ☐ Je ne suis pas impliqué dans les activités européennes
- ☐ Je participe aux groupes de travail du Conseil de l'UE
- ☐ Je ne participe pas aux groupes de travail du Conseil de l'UE mais je suis impliqué dans les activités européennes

1. A quel Ministère êtes-vous rattaché ? _____

2. Depuis quand travaillez-vous pour ce Ministère ? _____

3. Depuis quand êtes-vous actif comme fonctionnaire de l'Etat ? _____

4. Quelle part de votre temps de travail est dédiée aux affaires européennes (à peu près) ?
(veuillez y répondre en pourcents) _____

5. Depuis combien d'années dans votre carrière dans la fonction publique travaillez-vous sur des sujets européens ? _____

6. Quelle part de votre activité professionnelle depuis le début de votre carrière dans la fonction publique a été consacrée aux affaires européennes (à peu près)? (veuillez y répondre en pourcents) _____

7. Comparé il y a 20 ans, (si vous étiez déjà dans la fonction publique), diriez-vous que la participation des fonctionnaires nationaux aux affaires européennes a augmenté ?

☐ Oui ☐ plutôt oui ☐ plutôt non ☐ non ☐ ne sait pas

8. Quelle est la fréquence des contacts que vous établissez avec des collègues des autres Etats Membres ?

☐ très souvent ☐ souvent ☐ parfois ☐ jamais

9. Quelle est la fréquence des contacts que vous établissez avec un collègue d'un autre Etat Membre au sujet d'un dossier précis ?

☐ très souvent ☐ souvent ☐ parfois ☐ jamais

11. Comparé il y a 20 ans (si vous étiez déjà dans la fonction publique), diriez-vous que la coopération avec d'autres Etats Membres est devenue plus facile ?

☐ Oui ☐ plutôt oui ☐ plutôt non ☐ non ☐ ne sait pas

12. Comparé il y a 20 ans (si vous étiez déjà dans la fonction publique), diriez-vous que la coopération avec les Institutions Européennes pour les prises de décision en général est devenue plus nécessaire ?

☐ Oui ☐ plutôt oui ☐ plutôt non ☐ non ☐ ne sait pas

13. Quelle est la fréquence à laquelle vous recevez des instructions de votre supérieur ?

☐ très souvent ☐ souvent ☐ parfois ☐ jamais

14. Vous arrive-t-il de ne pas avancer dans le traitement d'un dossier par manque de consensus entre les dirigeants politiques nationaux ?

☐ très souvent ☐ souvent ☐ parfois ☐ jamais

15. Vous arrive-t-il de ne pas pouvoir traiter ou achever le traitement d'un dossier par manque d'information ?

☐ très souvent ☐ souvent ☐ parfois ☐ jamais

16. Pensez-vous que les emplois dans le secteur public devraient être plus accessibles aux personnes originaires d'un autre Etat Membre et qui ne possèdent pas la nationalité luxembourgeoise ?

☐ Oui ☐ plutôt oui ☐ plutôt non ☐ non ☐ ne sait pas

17. Etes-vous en faveur de faire bénéficier les citoyens non-luxembourgeois (mais originaires d'un Etat Membre) du droit de vote pour les élections législatives (Chambre des Députés) ?

☐ Oui ☐ plutôt oui ☐ plutôt non ☐ non ☐ ne sait pas

18. Est-ce que la coopération européenne a permis à votre Ministère d'atteindre des objectifs dans son domaine des politiques publiques qui auraient été plus difficilement accessibles sur le seul plan national ?

☐ Oui ☐ plutôt oui ☐ plutôt non ☐ non ☐ ne sait pas

19. Veuillez m'indiquer votre degré de consentement aux avis ci-après :

- a) La tâche principale des groupes de travail devrait être la réalisation des objectifs communs et la création d'une politique commune en collaboration avec les différents Etats Membres et avec la Commission Européenne.

D'accord

pas d'accord

☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

- b) A mon avis on devrait travailler dans le sens d'une politique fermement unifiée et renforçant le pouvoir exécutif des Institutions européennes.

D'accord

pas d'accord

☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

- c) L'activité essentielle de la Commission Européenne et des représentants nationaux devrait créer des orientations applicables dans les politiques respectives des Etats Membres.

D'accord

pas d'accord

☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

20. Est-ce que votre attitude à l'égard de l'Union Européenne a changé au cours du traitement des affaires européennes ?

- ☐ Oui
☐ Oui, d'une manière positive
☐ Oui, d'une manière négative
☐ Non

Vos commentaires/vos remarques :

| |
|---|
| <p>1. Können Sie mir sagen, wie die luxemburgische Position die ja bei jedem Ratstreffen präsentiert wird, zustande kommt?</p> <p>a) Wer analysiert die Vorschläge der Europäischen Kommission?</p> <p>b) Wer formuliert die luxemburgische Position? In welcher Institution geschieht dies und auf welcher Ebene?</p> <p>c) Bei Verlagerung der Koordination auf EU-Ebene: Wer ist zuständig für die Analyse der Dossiers? Inwiefern spielen die nationalen Ministerien in diesem Prozess noch eine Rolle? Welche Aufgabe kommt den nationalen Ministerien zu?</p> <p>d) Wenn Verlagerung: Aus welchen Gründen findet nationale Koordination von EU-Politik nur auf EU-Ebene statt?</p> |
| <p>2. Gibt es bestimmte strukturelle Einrichtungen auf nationaler und/oder europäischer Ebene, welche die Koordination der EU-Politik ausführen? Wenn ja, welche sind das?</p> <p>a) Welche Funktion hat das Außenministerium im Koordinationsprozess?</p> <p>b) Welche Funktion hat die Permanent Representation in Brüssel?</p> <p>c) Wie läuft die Koordination inoffiziell ab?</p> <p>d) Werden interne Absprachen/Arrangements getroffen? Wenn ja, welche sind das zum Beispiel?</p> |
| <p>3. Was passiert, wenn sich die zuständigen Personen, die an einem Dossier von der Kommission arbeiten, nicht einig sind?</p> <p>a) Wie lösen Sie diese Art von Konflikten?</p> <p>b) Wie garantieren Sie den reibungslosen Ablauf der Koordination der EU-Politik?</p> <p>c) Gibt es ein bestimmtes Strategieprogramm der luxemburgischen Regierung für die Koordination der EU-Politik?</p> <p>d) Wie wichtig ist die Koordination der EU-Politik für Luxemburg?</p> |
| <p>Optional</p> |
| <p>Können Sie mir sagen, ob es Unterschiede bzw. Gemeinsamkeiten zwischen EU-Institutionen und nationalen Institutionen gibt?</p> <p>a) Braucht Luxemburg die EU mehr als die EU Luxemburg?</p> <p>b) Sind Sie der Meinung, dass die EU sich zu sehr in die nationale Politik einmischt? Wenn ja, nennen Sie bitte ein Beispiel!</p> <p>c) Wie gelingt es Luxemburg sich in den EU-Institutionen zu behaupten?</p> <p>d) Könnten Sie eine Anpassung des nationalen administrativen Systems an das europäische System feststellen? Wenn ja, inwiefern hat sich Luxemburg angepasst?</p> <p>e) Vor welche organisatorischen Herausforderungen stellt die EU-Mitgliedschaft Luxemburg und seine Politik?</p> <p>f) Inwiefern ähneln/unterscheiden sich die administrativen Vorgänge in den EU-Institutionen von denen in den luxemburgischen Institutionen?</p> <p>g) Gibt es durch die Arbeit in der EU eine Annäherung zwischen nationalen und europäischen Institutionen/Strukturen?</p> <p>h) Wäre es denkbar, dass europäische Prozeduren und nationale eines Tages fusionieren?</p> |

6.4 Interview Guide National Coordination of EU policy – European Level (German)

| |
|---|
| 1. Erzählen Sie mir doch bitte etwas über Ihre Arbeit - was Sie so tagtäglich machen.... |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> e) Worin genau besteht die Rolle der PERMREPS? f) Gibt es für Sie einen Unterschied zwischen nationaler und EU-Politik? g) Gibt es inoffizielle Koordinationsnetzwerke? h) Welche Ressourcen stehen Ihnen für die Koordination zur Verfügung? i) Welche Faktoren machen die nationale Koordination von EU-Politik einfach bzw. schwierig? |
| 2. Können Sie mir sagen, wie die luxemburgische Position die ja bei jedem Ratstreffen präsentiert wird, zustande kommt? |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Wer analysiert die Vorschläge der Europäischen Kommission? b) Wer formuliert die luxemburgische Position? In welcher Institution geschieht dies und auf welcher Ebene? c) Wer entscheidet darüber, wann, wo und wie koordiniert wird? d) Wie schaffen Sie es, die einzelnen verschiedenen Politikbereiche unter einen Hut zu bringen? |
| 3. Wie koordiniert Luxemburg seine EU-Politik, wenn es die Ratspräsidentschaft hat? |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> e) Welche Herausforderungen bringt eine Ratspräsidentschaft mit sich? f) Welche besonderen Aufgaben müssen während einer Ratspräsidentschaft erfüllt werden? g) Wer ist an der Organisation der Ratspräsidentschaft alles beteiligt? |
| 4. Was ist bei der Organisation von Intergovernmental Conferences alles wichtig zu beachten? |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Wer ist an der Koordination der Intergovernmental Conferences beteiligt? b) Wer trifft die Entscheidungen? c) Bei wem liegt die Verantwortung für die Koordination der luxemburgischen EU-Politik? d) Welche Aufgaben müssen erfüllt werden? |
| 5. Koordinationsziele |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Wie stark sind EU-Themen auf der nationalen Agenda vertreten? |
| 6. Effektivität von Koordination von EU-Politik |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> i) Warum ist die Koordination von EU-Politik Ihrer Meinung nach wichtig? a) Was verstehen Sie unter „angemessener Koordination“? b) Wieviel Zeit investiert Luxemburg in die Koordination seiner EU-Politik? c) Hatte die EU-Osterweiterung Auswirkungen auf die Koordination der luxemburgischen EU-Politik? |

Optional

Können Sie mir sagen, ob es Unterschiede bzw. Gemeinsamkeiten zwischen EU-Institutionen und nationalen Institutionen gibt?

- a) Braucht Luxemburg die EU mehr als die EU Luxemburg?
- b) Sind Sie der Meinung, dass die EU sich zu sehr in die nationale Politik einmischt? Wenn ja, nennen Sie bitte ein Beispiel!
- c) Wie gelingt es Luxemburg sich in den EU-Institutionen zu behaupten?
- d) Konnten Sie eine Anpassung des nationalen administrativen Systems an das europäische System feststellen? Wenn ja, inwiefern hat sich Luxemburg angepasst?
- e) Vor welche organisatorischen Herausforderungen stellt die EU-Mitgliedschaft Luxemburg und seine Politik?
- f) Inwiefern ähneln/unterscheiden sich die administrativen Vorgänge in den EU-Institutionen von denen in den luxemburgischen Institutionen?
- g) Gibt es durch die Arbeit in der EU eine Annäherung zwischen nationalen und europäischen Institutionen/Strukturen?
- h) Wäre es denkbar, dass europäische Prozeduren und nationale eines Tages fusionieren?
- i) Würden Sie sagen, dass der luxemburgische Politikstil die europäische Arbeit eher erleichtert oder erschwert?

6.5 Interview Guide European Socialization – German

Interview Guide European Socialization of Luxembourgish National Officials

Vor dem Interview:

Thema: Europäisierung von luxemburgischen Staatsbeamten

- ➔ Karriereverlauf
- ➔ Schlüsselerlebnisse bei Integration in EU-Arbeit
- ➔ Arbeitsalltag (in Bezug auf EU-Arbeit)

1. Zunächst einmal hätte ich eine Frage zu Frage Nummer ... im Fragebogen. Denn dort hatten Sie angekreuzt. Warum? Was bedeutet Ihre Antwort?

➔ wenn nötig auch bei mehreren Fragen im Fragebogen nachfragen, wenn das Ergebnis verwunderlich ist!

2. Skizzieren Sie mir doch bitte Ihre Berufsbiografie!

- a) Hatten Sie vor Ihrer Beamtenkarriere andere Tätigkeiten?
- b) Was war der Auslöser für eine Karriere im Staatsdienst?
- c) Wann sind Sie das erste Mal bewusst mit EU-Politik in Kontakt gekommen?
- d) Wie hat Ihre Ausbildung Ihr Verständnis von Europa beeinflusst?
- e) Würden Sie ihren Beruf nochmals ergreifen? Wenn ja, warum?
- f) Erzählen Sie mir bitte, ob und wie Ihre politische Arbeit in Brüssel ihre Sicht auf die EU beeinflusst hat!

3. Wie haben Sie gelernt, wie EU-Arbeit funktioniert?

- a) Wie sind Sie auf die EU-Arbeit vorbereitet worden?
- b) Haben Sie während Ihrer Einarbeitung Unterstützung erfahren? Wenn ja, von wem und inwiefern?
- c) Gab es bestimmte Trainingseinheiten im Vorfeld? Wenn ja, welche?
- d) Wie hat Ihre Ausbildung Ihr Verständnis von Europa beeinflusst?
- e) Sind Sie vorher interkulturell sensibilisiert worden? (d.h. auf den Umgang mit kulturellen Unterschieden vorbereitet worden)
- f) Wie haben Sie sich sprachlich auf die EU-Arbeit vorbereitet?

4. Erinnern Sie sich an bestimmte Schlüsselerlebnisse während Ihrer Arbeit mit EU-Dossiers?

- a) Erinnern Sie sich z.B. an schwierige Momente sprachlicher oder kultureller Natur mit Kollegen aus anderen Ländern?
- b) Wenn ja, wie verhalten sich diese schwierige Momente zu Situationen, in denen Schwierigkeiten zwischen Luxemburg und anderen Mitgliedsstaaten entstehen aufgrund unterschiedlicher politischer Interessen?
- c) Haben Sie so etwas wie interkulturelle Missverständnisse erlebt?
- d) Hat sich durch die Zusammenarbeit mit Ihren europäischen Kollegen Ihre Einstellung verändert (gegenüber EU aber auch allgemein)?

Interview Guide
European Socialization of Luxembourgish National Officials

5. Erzählen Sie mir doch bitte etwas über Ihren Arbeitsalltag?

- a) Ist EU-Arbeit anders? Wenn ja, warum?
- b) Gibt es brüsselspezifische Rituale und Traditionen während der EU-Arbeit?
- c) Mit wem tauschen Sie sich über Europa aus?
- d) Wer sind Ihre Kommunikationspartner?
- e) Beschreiben Sie bitte, wie so ein Meeting der Arbeitsgruppe abläuft!
- f) Wie gestaltet sich der Kontakt/Zusammenarbeit zu anderen Mitgliedsstaaten während des Meetings?
- g) Gibt es einen Unterschied in der Zusammenarbeit mit Ihren europäischen Kollegen im Vergleich zu Ihren nationalen?
- h) Wie empfinden Sie die Arbeitsatmosphäre im Rat der Europäischen Union?

Optional

Warum ist Luxemburg Ihrer Meinung nach ein wichtiges Land in der EU?

- a) Wie wichtig ist Ihre EU-Arbeit für Luxemburg?
- b) Wenn Sie eine politische Entscheidung treffen, denken Sie dann in erster Linie an die Konsequenzen für Europa oder für Luxemburg?
- c) Gibt es einen europäischen Wertekanon?
- d) Gibt es so etwas wie eine europäische Identität?
- e) Wodurch kennzeichnet sich für Sie eine europäische Einstellung aus?

6.6 Interview Guide European Socialization – French

Interview Guide European Socialization of Luxembourgish National Officials

Avant l'interview :

Sujet : l'Européanisation des fonctionnaires d'Etat luxembourgeois

- ➔ Parcours professionnel
- ➔ Expériences clés pendant l'intégration dans le travail européen
- ➔ Travail quotidien (concernant le travail européen)

1. En un premier temps j'ai une question relative à la question numéro... du questionnaire, car vous y avez indiqué que Pourquoi ? Que voulez-vous dire par là ?

➔ Si nécessaire, poser plusieurs questions du questionnaire si le résultat est bizarre ou surprenant !

2. Pourriez-vous m'esquisser votre parcours professionnel ?

- a) Aviez-vous d'autres activités professionnelles avant le début de votre carrière de fonctionnaire ?
- b) Quel fut le déclic déterminant pour votre orientation vers une carrière de fonctionnaire ?
- c) Choisiriez-vous une fois encore cette carrière de fonctionnaire ? Si oui, pourquoi ?
- d) Quand aviez-vous pour la première fois pris contact consciemment avec la politique européenne ?
- e) Veuillez me présenter votre avis sur la façon dont votre activité politique à Bruxelles a influencé votre vision personnelle de l'Europe !

3. Comment avez-vous découvert le fonctionnement du travail européen ?

- a) Comment avez-vous été préparé au travail européen ?
- b) Avez-vous eu un certain entraînement préalable ?
- c) Avez-vous eu une sensibilisation interculturelle préalable (ou avez-vous été préparé au contact des différences culturelles) ?
- d) Comment vous êtes-vous préparé linguistiquement au travail européen ?

4. Vous souvenez-vous de certains moments clés de votre phase de familiarisation avec les dossiers européens ?

- a) Vous souvenez-vous de moments difficiles au niveau de la langue ou de la culture au contact de collègues d'autres Etats Membres ?
- b) Avez-vous vécu un semblant de malentendus interculturels ?
- c) Si oui, quel est le rapport entre ces moments difficiles et les situations dans lesquelles des difficultés se manifestent entre le Luxembourg et d'autres Etats Membres en raison d'intérêts divergents ?

Interview Guide
European Socialization of Luxembourgish National Officials

5. Veuillez me décrire le déroulement de votre travail quotidien.

- a) Est-ce que le caractère du travail des dossiers européens diffère de celui du travail des dossiers nationaux ? Si oui, pourquoi ?
- b) Avec qui échangez-vous vos idées au sujet de l'Europe ?
- c) Qui sont vos interlocuteurs ?
- d) Veuillez bien décrire comment une réunion d'un groupe de travail se déroule !
- e) Comment est la collaboration/contact avec les représentants des autres États membres pendant la réunion ?
- f) Y a-t-il à Bruxelles des traditions ou des rites de travail européens qui n'existent nulle part ailleurs ?
- g) Quel sentiment avez-vous de l'atmosphère de travail au Conseil de l'UE ?

Option

Pourquoi pensez-vous que le Luxembourg est un pays important dans l'UE ?

- a) Quelle est l'importance de votre travail réalisé dans l'UE pour le Luxembourg ?
- b) Lorsque vous prenez une décision politique, pensez-vous d'abord aux conséquences pour l'Europe ou bien aux conséquences pour le Luxembourg ?
- c) Existe-t-il un canon de valeurs européennes ?
- d) Existe-t-il une espèce d'identité européenne ?
- e) Quelles sont à votre avis les caractéristiques d'une attitude européenne ?